

Kind Neighbours

*Scottish Saints and Society
in the Later Middle Ages*



Tom Turpie



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Kind Neighbours

Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages

By

Tom Turpie



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To my parents for all their help and encouragement



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List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library.
CDS	Joseph Bain, ed., <i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland</i> (Edinburgh: HMRO, 1881–1986).
<i>Chron. Boece</i>	Raymond W. Chambers, ed., <i>The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece, translated into Scots by John Bellenden</i> (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1938–41).
<i>Chron. Bower</i>	Donald E.R. Watt, <i>Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English</i> (Aberdeen: University Press, 1987–99).
<i>Chron. Fordun</i>	William F. Skene, trans., <i>Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum</i> (Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas, 1871–2).
<i>Chron. Maior</i>	Archibald Constable, ed., <i>A History of Greater Britain, as well England as Scotland. Compiled by John Major</i> (Edinburgh: T & A Constable, 1892).
<i>Chron. Wyntoun</i>	Francis J. Amours, ed. <i>The Original Chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1903–14).
<i>CPL, Benedict XIII</i>	Francis McGurk, ed., <i>Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon (1394–1419)</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1976).
<i>CPL, Clement VII</i>	Charles Burns, ed., <i>Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon, 1378–94</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1974).
<i>CSSR, 1418–1422</i>	Edward R. Lindsay & Annie I. Dunlop, eds., <i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418–22</i> (Edinburgh: T & A Constable, 1934).
<i>CSSR, 1423–1428</i>	Annie I. Dunlop, ed., <i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423–1428</i> (Edinburgh: T.A Constable, 1956).
<i>CSSR, 1428–1432</i>	Annie I. Dunlop & I.B. Cowan, eds, <i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428–1432</i> , (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1978).
<i>CSSR, 1433–1447</i>	Annie I. Dunlop, ed., <i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433–1447</i> (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press 1983).
<i>CSSR, 1447–1471</i>	James Kirk et al, eds., <i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1447–1471</i> (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1997).
DDARC	Dundee District Archives and Record Centre.
ER	John Stuart et al, eds. <i>Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, 1878–1908).
ECA	Edinburgh City Archives.
EUL	Edinburgh University Library.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.

NRS	National Records of Scotland.
PKDA	Perth and Kinross District Archive.
RMS	John M. Thomson et al, eds, <i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, 1882–1914).
RSS	Matthew Livingstone et al, ed., <i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> (Edinburgh: HMGRH, 1908–1982).
StAUL	St Andrews University Library.
SCA	Stirling Council Archives.
TA	Thomas Dickson, ed., <i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, 1877–1916).

Introduction

In 2010 Benedict XVI (2005–2013) became only the second reigning Pontiff to visit the United Kingdom. He began the Scottish leg of the tour on 16 September with a parade to celebrate the feast day of St Ninian. The event attracted 125,000 onlookers to Edinburgh's Princes Street, including children from fourteen local schools that bore the name of the saint. After details of the date and theme of the parade were released, print and television journalists searched frantically for copy on St Ninian. The internet, and for the more thorough amongst them, the *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, provided the journalists with a clear-cut narrative for their reports.¹ They noted that Ninian had travelled to Rome and spent time in France under the tutelage of Martin of Tours. He then returned home to his native Galloway in 397 AD to bring the faith to the Scots. Ninian, they noted, therefore appeared to be the earliest apostle of Scotland, his career pre-dating that of the better-known St Columba, who had died in 597 AD, and also the arrival in Fife of the relics of national patron saint, Andrew, in the eighth century.² The publicity surrounding the papal visit reignited a campaign, led by politicians representing the southwest of Scotland, to have Ninian officially acknowledged as the nation's first saint and apostle, and to have Whithorn recognised as the 'Cradle of Christianity' in Scotland. This campaign culminated on 18 February 2014, when the Scottish Parliament accepted a motion by South Scotland MSP Aileen McLeod, to have the pilgrim trail to Whithorn designated as a 'European Cultural Way'. The campaigners hoped that achieving this status would encourage tourism and stimulate economic regeneration along the pilgrim route.³

The events of 2010 and 2014 are a rare example of the cult of the saints playing an active role in local and national politics, and within the public consciousness, in modern day Scotland. In the Middle Ages however, they were part of the very fabric of Scottish society. Medieval theologians and the laity believed that the exceptional merit of the life and/or death of a saint gave them the power to intercede directly with God.⁴ This intercession could be harnessed by an individual or a community through prayer, or by the

1 David H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: University Press, 1987), 389–90.

2 Joan Macalpine, "Pupils have St Ninian's Day to remember", *Scotsman*, 17 September 2010, "Parade marks special Pope visit", *Herald*, 31 August, 2010. These are just two examples of a number of reports taking the same line.

3 The Scottish Parliament, Volume 3, No. 78, Session 4. Tuesday 18 February 2014.

4 Euan Cameron, *European Reformation* (Oxford: University Press, 2012), 161.

development of a personal relationship with a particular member of the holy dead. This fundamental belief meant that the saints and their relics played a significant role in the lives of all but the most unorthodox medieval Scots. They could be found everywhere in medieval Scotland, in the names given to places, objects, children and natural phenomenon, and most visibly in the churches which were filled with statues, murals and ornate rood screens depicting the saints and their legends.⁵ An appreciation of how and why Scots in the middle ages interacted with these holy men and women is therefore vital for reaching any form of understanding of medieval Scottish society.

The saints played such an important role for this society because they fulfilled a number of important functions. These functions can be grouped loosely under the four headings of patronage, protection, salvation and politics.⁶ As the patrons of communities or institutions, saints were called upon for assistance in times of crisis. The patronage of particular saints could also be used as a unifying symbol around which to build political communities, like the kingdom of the Scots, which contained disparate linguistic and cultural groups. Association with a saint could also be used to justify and explain the long held legal rights and customs of religious institutions like monasteries, and secular communities like towns. While saints were expected to provide a general protection for the communities under their patronage, for individuals and families they also provided a more specific defence against the misfortunes and vagaries of life. They were called upon to explain and mitigate sickness in humans and animals, to help in extreme weather, and to deal with everyday problems that medieval medicine and science could do little to remedy – for that society they were the “Kind Neighbours”.⁷

The third function of the saints was within what has been termed the “search for salvation”.⁸ Central to orthodox religious belief in the later middle ages was the concept of purgatory, a place of torment through which all souls, apart from the saints and the damned, must pass before entering heaven. By developing a personal relationship with a saint through prayers and patronage,

5 A guide to how these churches looked before the reformation can be found in Stephen Holmes, ed, *Lost interiors: the furnishings of Scottish churches in the later Middle Ages: the Rhind lectures 1969–1970, delivered by David McRoberts* (Edinburgh: Aquhorthies Press, 2012).

6 For all that follows see Stephen Wilson’s Introduction to *Saints and their cults: studies in religious sociology, folklore and history* (Cambridge: University Press, 1982), 16–36.

7 The term “Kind Neighbours” has been used by Eamon Duffy as a label for the relationship between the saints and the people of later medieval England, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), 161.

8 This central element of late medieval religious practice and thought is explored in a Scottish context in Audrey-Beth Fitch, *The search for salvation: lay faith in Scotland, 1480–1560* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2009).

it was believed that these holy men or women would intercede on behalf of the person and his loved ones, lessening the time spent in the dreaded 'third place'. The final function, within the world of local, national and international politics, was an inevitable by-product of the popularity of the cult of the saints, and their role as the recognised symbols of places, people and communities. Saints were invoked to promote, and on occasion to oppose, secular rulers and dynasties. Possession of their relics was also central to the prestige and finances of corporate religious institutions.

As a result of the core belief in the intercessory power of the saints, and this range of important functions, the cult of the saints developed into a universal religious and cultural movement that could be found across Latin Christendom in the middle ages.⁹ While there were common structural features in this movement, there was also considerable regional and local variation in the manner in which devotion to the saints was manifested, and in the types of individuals who were subject to such veneration. This book will utilise the four functions of patronage, protection, salvation and politics as a framework within which to explore devotion to the saints in one particular late medieval state: the kingdom of the Scots. Memorably described in the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) as "poor little Scotland, beyond which there is no dwelling-place at all", it was a small state located on the peripheries of Europe, with a population of around 500,000.¹⁰ Despite their location, the Scots were not an isolated community. They were bound to the rest of the British Isles, Scandinavia and continental Europe by strong political, commercial and cultural ties. With these connections in mind, this book will explore the common and distinctive features of devotion to a particular group of saints in late medieval Scotland, those identified by contemporaries as 'Scottish'. It will locate the role of this group within the devotional culture of the late medieval kingdom, identifying and explaining the appeal of the most popular Scottish saints of the period.

Approaching Medieval Sainthood

The journalists and politicians who in 2010 and 2014 wrote with such enthusiasm on the career of the saint of Whithorn, did not seem to know, or

9 It could also be found, of course, in the Orthodox Church, but that is outside the scope of this study.

10 The Latin and English text is printed in Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, ed., *The Declaration of Arbroath. History, Significance, Setting* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), xiii–v. This is the estimated population after the Great Famine (1315–22) and fourteenth-century Black Death pandemics of 1349, 1362, 1379 and 1390.

necessarily care, that the 'Ninian' they were presenting as a historical figure was a construct. His image and his very existence was forged over several centuries in the middle ages by a combination of the shrine custodians in Galloway, local secular rulers and the devotees of his cult. The earliest suggestion that Ninian had been active in the fourth century comes from a twelfth-century life of the saint composed by a monk from Yorkshire.¹¹ This life was the second of three *Vitae* of Ninian through which, along with other written and visual materials relating to the cult, we can chart the evolution of the meaning and function of the saint. In this, Ninian was not unusual. The posthumous reputation, known as the 'cult', of all the men, women and children who came to be regarded as Christian saints in the middle ages was to a greater or lesser degree a construct.¹² It was fashioned by a combination of those who venerated the saint (the devotees), and, perhaps more importantly, the institution or group that had the strongest vested interest in the promotion of his or her sanctity (the custodians). The visual image, reputation and specialisms of individual saints were adapted by those groups, sometimes dramatically, to reflect changing ideals of sanctity and evolving societal needs.

The survival of vast quantities of materials from medieval Europe related to the saints means that they provide fascinating opportunities for exploring religion, society and politics in the middle ages. For those looking to utilise these materials, the constructed nature of a saint's cult, where the posthumous reputation of the holy person, even when they had lived and died in the recent past, rarely reflected the actual life of the individual, can be a problem. As a literary genre, hagiography (the legends of the saints) is subject to its own rules and tropes. This means that, tempting as it may be, even if a life of a saint was produced shortly after the death of the individual, it cannot be treated as biography.¹³ Similarly interpreting other materials relating to a cult, such as collections of miracles or canonisation enquiries, can be a complex process. The modern era of scholarship has seen two main approaches to these materials and to the subject of medieval sainthood in general. The first approach, beloved of the sociologist rather than the historian, explores large samples of men,

11 Alexander P. Forbes, ed., *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* (Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas, 1874), 1–27.

12 Ridyard summarises cogently the relationship between saint and cult in the middle ages as "In theory founded upon divine acknowledgement, but in fact created by man", Susan Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1988), 234.

13 Thomas Head, ed, *Medieval Hagiography: an anthology* (New York and London: Garland, 2000), xiii–xxvi. Anthony Bale, Introduction to *St Edmund, King and Martyr. Changing Image of a Medieval Saint* (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), 18–23.

women and children who were considered to be saints in a particular place or over a period of time. These studies look for patterns within the legends of officially canonised or locally venerated saints, to explore what constituted sanctity in different time periods and within diverse societies.¹⁴ A second, more firmly historical, approach focuses on the evolution of an individual cult, or group of similar saints, over an extended period of time. Studies taking this approach explore the economic, social and political context which contributed to the changing role and image of particular saints.¹⁵

Within both these sociological and historical approaches to medieval sainthood, two key points have emerged. Firstly, the meaning attached to a particular saint could vary in different locations depending on the local cultural and political backdrop. For example, a universally popular biblical saint like Andrew could mean rather different things to a twelfth-century Scot than to a fifteenth-century Muscovite. Secondly, as a movement the cult of the saints was closely linked to the societies in which it operated, and was constantly adapting and being adapted to the socio-religious context of those societies. Political changes, natural disasters and new forms of religious expression were all reflected in devotion to the saints. The study of the saints (hagiology) and of their legends (hagiography) is in essence therefore the study of the societies in which these holy men, women and children were venerated.¹⁶ It is this latter fact that makes this distinctive feature of the medieval world a subject of such interest for historians.¹⁷

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- 14 André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), Pierre Deloiz, "Toward a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church", in *Saints and their Cults*, ed. Wilson, 189–215, Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom. 1000–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
 - 15 Excellent recent examples of this include Victoria Blanton, *Signs of Devotion. The cult of St Aethelthryth in medieval England, 695–1615* (Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, 2007); Susan E. Wilson, *The Life and After-Life of St John of Beverly. The Evolution of the cult of an Anglo-Saxon Saint* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006).
 - 16 This purpose of hagiology is also emphasised in the introduction by Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 1–5, and more recently by Katherine Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 5–6.
 - 17 The introduction of the recent edited collection on the subject in Scotland described the cult of the saints as a "malleable and mutable social phenomenon subject to changing political and ecclesiastical conditions", Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson, introduction to *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), xii.

“Never better loved”. Saints and Society in Late Medieval Europe

The later middle ages, which form the focus for this book, have been described by Émile Mâle as a time when the “saints were never better loved”.¹⁸ For Mâle, and scholars of religion in England like Eamon Duffy, the two centuries from the first appearance of the Black Death in 1348 to the rise of Protestantism in the 1520s and 1530s was a distinct period in the development of the cult of the saints in Latin Christendom.¹⁹ Doctrinal changes within the Western Church and a series of ecological and man-made crises saw the cult of saints flourish in the later middle ages, developing a distinctive character unlike earlier or later periods. The most significant of these doctrinal changes was the adoption of the principle of purgatory, officially sanctioned by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The development of the doctrine of the “third place”, where almost everyone could expect to spend some time in torment, created what Jacques Le Goff has termed as a “new solidarity between living and dead”.²⁰ The saints, as intercessors between man and God, played a prominent role within the atmosphere of heightened desire for commemoration and remembrance initiated by this doctrine. A further key change was the growing involvement of the papacy within the canonisation process. Prior to the twelfth century, local church authorities and communities had played the major role in the recognition of sanctity. Growing Papal control and interference in this process had a considerable influence upon the types of new saints that developed in the period, and the way in which older cults were presented, in addition to generating often-prohibitive costs for those considering a canonisation process.²¹

Significant changes to the climate from the latter part of the thirteenth century, in what has become known as the “Little Ice Age”, contributed to the ecological disasters of the later middle ages. These included a devastating famine in the early fourteenth century, cattle and sheep epizootics and recurring outbreaks of human diseases, the deadliest of which was the Black Death.²² The demographic crisis caused by these disasters was exacerbated by human

18 Émile Mâle, *Religious art in France: the late middle ages; a study of medieval iconography and its sources* (Princeton: University Press, 1986), 147.

19 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 155–205.

20 Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Oxford, Blackwell, 2005), 326.

21 Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 59–85, Aviad M. Kleinberg, “Proving Sanctity: Selection and Authentication of Saints in the Later Middle Ages”, *Viator* 20 (1980), 183–205.

22 Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Belief in Medieval England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 192–202, and Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber, 2002), 257–302.

activity. Warfare and civil strife were major features of Western European society in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, causing disruption to trade routes and the destruction of crops and livestock.²³ A particular brand of piety was engendered by this environment, characterised by flourishing devotion to the Virgin Mary, Christ cults based on the Passion, and the veneration of different types of new and established saints.²⁴ The manner in which devotion to these saints was expressed was also distinctive. The growing concern for post-mortem commemoration led to an upsurge in the popularity of chantry dedications. Known in Scotland as chaplainries, these were payments for priests to say masses on behalf of the patron and a range of named beneficiaries. The popular activity of pilgrimage to the shrines of the saints was altered by the prevalence of indulgences, which promised a reduction in time in purgatory in return for visiting churches on specified feasts, and by the increasing importance of miraculous images.²⁵ The small kingdom of Scotland, although located on the fringes of Europe, was firmly within the religious world in which these wider changes were taking place.²⁶

Religion, Piety and the Cult of the Saints in Late Medieval Scotland

Recent scholarship on late medieval Scotland has done much to dispel the traditional image of a bleak and violent era, characterised by interminable warfare with England and the struggle between monarchy and nobility. Recovering from the destructive impact of the Wars of Independence and the ecological disasters of the fourteenth century, the later middle ages in Scotland have come increasingly to be recognised as a period of relative peace and prosperity.²⁷ Rather than conflict between crown and nobility, it is the ambitious architecture of the church of St Michael's in Linlithgow and the buildings of the King's College, Aberdeen, that better reflect this period in Scottish history. In the

23 Michael E. Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).

24 Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215–c.1515* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 148–172.

25 Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 290–295; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 155–60 and 183–6; and Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 453–57.

26 David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560, Volume 1: Religion, Culture and Commerce* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 266–72.

27 See for example Michael Brown and Steve Boardman, "Survival and Revival: Late Medieval Scotland", in *Scotland. A History*, ed. Jenny Wormald (Oxford: University Press), 77–106.

fifteenth century in particular, freed from continual warfare with England by long, if often uneasy, truces, the kingdom was a relatively cosmopolitan place, linked to the continent by the marriages of its royal dynasty, an intellectual elite educated at European universities, and strong trading connections with Flanders and the Baltic. Until fairly recently, the study of religion during this period has suffered from being sandwiched between two superficially more attractive periods, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when there were major organisational changes within the Scottish church, and the drama of the sixteenth-century reformation. The powerful pull of the sixteenth-century break with Rome has led to an inevitable search in late medieval religion for, on the one hand, signs of institutional decay and proto-Protestantism, and on the other, vitality in religious practice and organisation. This tendency has been challenged in recent studies on late medieval piety which have been keen to move away from what might be termed this 'pre-Reformation' approach to the subject.²⁸

This renewed interest in both institutional and lay religion in late medieval Scotland has been reflected in research on the cult of the saints. While the saints have long been a subject of interest for historians, research has traditionally been drawn to two time periods. The first of these is the fourth to eighth centuries, the period in which the majority of these holy men and women were thought to have been active. The lives of the saints, such as Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* (c.697), are some of the few written sources to have survived from this period and therefore provide a vital source for religion and society.²⁹ The supposed activities of Scotland's early saints, and other landmarks like the arrival in the kingdom of the relics of St Andrew (c.750) and the (c.1070) marriage of St Margaret and Malcolm III (1058–93), have also traditionally formed important markers around which the study of the political and ecclesiastical history of early medieval Scotland has been based.³⁰ This has meant that research on these holy men and women has been dominated by attempts to identify the historical figure behind the saint, fix them within firm chronological parameters and verify the hagiographical accounts of their careers. The better attested later medieval cults have rarely been the focus of scrutiny,

28 Fitch, *The search for salvation*; Helen Brown, "Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian, c.1306–c.1513" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2006); Mairi Cowan, *Death, life and religious change in Scottish towns, c.1350–1560* (Manchester: University Press, 2012).

29 Richard Sharpe, trans, *Adomnán of Iona. Life of St Columba* (London: Penguin, 1995).

30 Thomas O. Clancy, "The Big Man, the Footsteps and the Fissile saint; paradigm and problems in studies of insular saints' cults", in Boardman and Williamson eds, *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary*, 2–3.

a trend most evident in the extensive historiography surrounding St Ninian. Debate rages over the period and geographical extent of his mission in Scotland and more recently over his very existence.³¹

A second tendency has been to examine local cults, and those of other saints from northern Britain like Cuthbert of Durham, within the framework of ecclesiastical politics and regional identities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This key formative period of the kingdom saw efforts to create a number of new Scottish saints, and the promotion or re-imagination of the lives of several holy men and women of a reputedly older stock. Queen Margaret became the only officially canonised Scottish saint in 1250; a local cult developed around a murdered bishop of Caithness; and there were tentative attempts to have the sanctity of Waltheof of Melrose, Kentigern of Glasgow and David I (1124–53) recognised by the Papacy.³² This was also a rich period for the production of literary works, with the composition of a number of the major Latin hagiographical documents relating to Scotland, lives of Ninian, Margaret, Kentigern and Waltheof, as well as origin legends relating to St Andrews and other ecclesiastical centres, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

By contrast the later middle ages have appeared to offer meagre resources for scholars. The last Scot with an attested provenance to enter the liturgy was Gilbert of Caithness who died in 1245. The only recorded canonisation enquiries in the later middle ages were two abortive processes surrounding Duthac of Tain in 1418 (who was generally believed to have been active in the eleventh century) and a fifteenth-century queen, Margaret of Denmark, following her death in 1486. This lack of new official Scottish saints is perhaps unsurprising. In the same period only three Englishmen were recognised by the papacy as

31 Thomas O. Clancy, "Columba, Adomnán and the cult of saints in Scotland", *Innes Review* 48 (1997), 5. For summaries of the debate over the historicity of Ninian, see Jonathan Wooding, "St Ninian; archaeology and the Dossier of the saint", in *St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland*, ed. Jane Murray (Oxford: Archaeo Press, 2009), 9–10.

32 Adam of Caithness (1213–22) was martyred in defence of church rights in the north in 1222, and miracles were recorded at a translation of his relics in 1239: Joseph Stevenson, trans., *A Medieval Chronicle. The Chronicle of Melrose* (Lampeter: Llanerch Press, 1991), 57–60; Helen Birkett, "The struggle for sanctity: St Waltheof of Melrose, Cistercian in-house cults and canonisation procedure at the turn of the thirteenth century", in Boardman and Williamson, eds. *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 43–60; Archibald A.A. Duncan, "St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century", in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*, ed. Richard Fawcett (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 1998), 9–22; Joanna Huntington, "David of Scotland: 'Vir tam neccessarius mundo'", in Boardman and Williamson, eds. *Saints' cults in the Celtic World*, 130–146.

the canonisation process became increasingly complex, expensive and regionally biased towards Italy and Southern France. What is surprising in late medieval Scotland is the conspicuous lack of what have been labelled “would-be saints”.³³ These were unofficial cults based upon contemporary figures that failed to receive, or flourished without, papal sanction. Evidence for such aspirant Scottish cults in this period is sparse, limited to patchy references to miracles around the tomb of the murdered Duke of Rothesay (d.1402) at the abbey of Lindores in Fife.

The fourteenth to sixteenth centuries was not then a period in which individuals who came to be regarded as saints were active in Scotland, or one that generated a range of locally produced hagiographical materials comparable to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. However, a rich range of source materials have survived from the later middle ages that makes it possible, perhaps more than in any other period, to gain a greater understanding of Scottish engagement with the cult of the saints. These materials include two large collections of the lives of the saints, the fourteenth-century *Legends of the Saints*, and the Aberdeen Breviary from the sixteenth century.³⁴ Other primary sources include literary references to popular religious practice from Scotland's chronicle and poetical traditions, materials from the Vatican archives and hundreds of official documents relating to dedications to saints by individuals and corporate groups in Scotland's churches. Recent research using this rich range of sources has helped to create an increasingly well-rounded picture of the veneration of the saints in late medieval Scotland, contributing to the general renewal of interest in late medieval piety.

Much of this recent scholarship has been carried out within the context of a re-evaluation of the conclusions of the most influential work on the cult of the saints in late medieval Scotland, a 1968 *Innes Review* article by David McRoberts. In his article McRoberts argued that the fifteenth century saw a self-consciously nationalist trend in Scottish religious practice. According to McRoberts, this ‘liturgical nationalism’ was fostered by both the church and the Stewart dynasty, and was most apparent in the rediscovery of Scotland's

33 The canonised saints were Thomas Cantilupe of Hereford (1320), John of Bridlington (1401) and Osmund of Salisbury (1456), there were numerous uncanonised individuals who were the subject of local cults in this period: Robert N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 287–90.

34 William M. Metcalfe, ed., *Legends of the Saints* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1896), William Blew, ed, *Breviarium Aberdonense* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1854).

early saints.³⁵ His hypothesis was supported by Leslie Macfarlane who saw this controlled movement as part of a wider policy by which the church and crown were attempting to “instil into the hearts of the Scottish people a love and pride in their fatherland”.³⁶ The identification by McRoberts of nationalist trends in fifteenth-century religious practice continues to receive currency in general histories of the period, despite a recent serious critique by David Ditchburn.³⁷ Ditchburn’s concerns lay initially with the extent to which this nationalist development has been allowed to overshadow cosmopolitan devotional trends, which he identified as readily apparent in Scotland.³⁸ In a recent article he has taken this critique further, questioning the wider significance of these Scottish saints in late medieval devotional practice and the role of nationalism as a catalyst for the changes in the period.³⁹

Building on Ditchburn’s work, research on the cult of the saints in late medieval Scotland latterly has tended to set aside the theme of devotional nationalism in favour of a focus on the importance of cosmopolitan devotional practices in Scotland, such as the strong local interest in Marian, Christocentric and pan-European cults.⁴⁰ The saints have also come to feature more prominently within the mainstream political and constitutional history of Scotland.

35 David McRoberts, “The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century”, *Innes Review* 9 (1968), 4–8.

36 Leslie Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431–1514. The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen: University Press, 1995), 234.

37 The acceptance of McRoberts’ thesis is most evident in Galbraith’s study in which he used three liturgical calendars from the period to support his argument that nationalism amongst the fifteenth-century clergy had led to a “great revival in the cultus of the national saints”, James Galbraith, “The Middle Ages”, in *Studies in the history of worship in Scotland*, eds. Duncan B. Forrester & Douglas M. Murray (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 23. Andrew Barrell follows a similar line commenting that “greater interest in Scottish saints which led to the production of the Aberdeen Breviary”, Andrew D.M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 252 and 267. It also appears in the most recent survey volume on the period: Katie Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda. Scotland, 1306–1488* (Edinburgh: University Press, 2013), 137–139.

38 Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 52–3.

39 David Ditchburn, “The ‘McRoberts Thesis’ and patterns of Sanctity in Late Medieval Scotland” in Boardman and Williamson, *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, 177–194; Tom Turpie, “Our friend in the north: the origins, evolution and appeal of the cult of St Duthac of Tain in late medieval Scotland”, *Scottish Historical Review*, 93.1 (2014), 1–4 and 27–28.

40 Ditchburn, “The ‘McRoberts Thesis’”, 192–94; see for example Eila Williamson, “The Cult of the Three Kings of Cologne in Scotland”, in *Saints’ cults in the Celtic World*, ed. Steve Boardman et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), 160–179 and Alasdair A. MacDonald, “Passion

Influenced by Mark Ormrod's studies of royal piety in fourteenth-century England, it has come increasingly to be recognised that Scottish monarchs and the regional nobility were well aware, like their English counterparts, of the political cachet to be gained from well-directed displays of piety.⁴¹

Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages

This book is not intended as a complete survey of the Scottish engagement with the cult of the saints, but focuses, as McRoberts did, on the "Scottish" saints and chiefly upon Andrew, Ninian, Duthac and Kentigern. As Alexander Boyle has suggested, the historical term "Scottis Sanctis" was an ambiguous but inclusive concept which was used to refer to "those saints, whatever their nationality, whose work lay, or was thought to have lain, mostly or wholly in Scotland".⁴² There are other saints who might equally claim to be covered by the epithet "Scottish" but most, such as Nicholas in Aberdeen, Giles in Edinburgh and Lawrence in Perth, fit more readily into the category labelled as "localised universals".⁴³ Andrew is an obvious example of this saint type, but his position as the kingdom's patron demands his inclusion in this study. Others saints can be identified who also had a notable following in late medieval Scotland but most of these, such as Ireland's Brigid of Kildare, and the crusading saints like George and Michael, have other lands with a greater claim on them. By looking beyond the traditional nationalism and royal patronage paradigms, I have considered how the broader social and religious developments that characterised this period combined with factors distinctive to Scotland, such as the intermittent warfare with England, to influence the type of saints that were venerated by late medieval Scots. This study will therefore

devotion in late-medieval Scotland", in *The Broken Body: Passion devotion in late-medieval culture*, eds. Alasdair A. Macdonald et al. (Groningen: Forsten Publishing, 1998), 109–31.

41 Mark Ormrod, "The Personal Religion of Edward III", *Speculum* 64 (1989), 849–77. Michael Penman, "Christian Days and Knights: the religious devotions and court of David II of Scotland 1329–71", *Historical Research* 75 (2002), 249–72; and *Ibid*, "The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c. 1178–c.1404", *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 346–71; Nicky Scott, "The Court and Household of James I of Scotland, 1424–37" (PhD diss., University of Stirling, 2007).

42 Alexander Boyle, "Some saints lives in the Breviary of Aberdeen", *Analecta Bollandia* 94 (1976), 95–6.

43 Gary Dickson, "The 115 cults of the saints in Late Medieval and Renaissance Perugia", in *Religious Enthusiasm in the Medieval West; revivals, crusades, saints*, ed. *idem* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2000), 10.

aim to contribute to the debates surrounding late medieval piety in Scotland, while providing a comparative model and resource for scholars researching the cult of the saints in other areas on the peripheries of medieval Europe.

This book begins by examining the central role played by the saints in the legal and historical arguments for Scottish independence from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, and considers the factors that led to the development of first Andrew, and later Ninian, into the patron saints of the Scots. Later chapters identify the saints that were most loved and trusted by late medieval Scots, addressing the extent to which 'liturgical nationalism' played a role in influencing religious practice amongst clerics and the laity. This is followed by an analysis of the most popular Scottish saints of the period, a group led by Ninian and Duthac, exploring the factors that led to the success of their cults. The final chapter examines the increasingly sophisticated use of devotion to important regional cults and long distance domestic pilgrimage within the political strategies of the Scottish monarchy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, looking at the catalysts and models that prompted this use of crown religious patronage.

Patrons: Saints and Sovereignty in Medieval Scotland

Their patron so did not them learn,
 Saint Andrew with his shored cross;
 But sure St Trinnan of Quhytehorn,
 Or Doffin their demigod of Ross.¹

It was with these lines that an anonymous English poet censured the Scots for their calamitous decision to invade England in 1513. He blamed the belligerent nobility for the war, condemning them for failing to follow the example set by the Scottish patron saints, Andrew, Ninian and Duthac. Nearly five centuries later, two newly founded Scottish breweries based in Orkney and Glasgow named their first beers St Magnus Ale and St Mungo Lager.² By choosing to name their products after these saints, who are familiar symbols of Orcadian and Glaswegian identity, these new enterprises were deliberately emphasising the local pedigree of their product. Both the poet writing in 1513 and the twenty-first century brewers recognised that saints were potent and recognisable symbols of communities. While Magnus and Mungo (whose official name was Kentigern) have a continued symbolic resonance for some groups in modern day Scotland, in the middle ages this patronal role took on more varied forms. Saints were called upon to protect these communities in times of crisis and to unite disparate racial and linguistic groups. The patronage of particular saints was also used to justify and explain political sovereignty, local customs and legal rights. As with all aspects of the cult of the saints, the choice of the patron of a community, whether it be a town or an entire kingdom, evolved over time, subject to changing social and political conditions.³ In Scotland, the later middle ages saw a number of significant developments in this sphere.

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- 1 Henry Weber, ed., *Battle of Flodden Field. A Poem of the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: A Constable, 1868), 27.
 - 2 The Highland Brewing company based in Swannay on the Orkney mainland was founded in 2005, while the West Brewery located on Glasgow Green was founded in 2006.
 - 3 Arno Borst, *Medieval Worlds: barbarians, heretics and artists in the Middle Ages*, trans. Eric Hanson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 125–136.

1 The Independence of the Scottish Church and the Earliest History of the Scots

The modern-day association between Scotland and St Andrew, strikingly depicted in the design of the Saltire flag, originated in the middle ages. Relics of the apostle, consisting of three fingers, part of his arm, a kneecap and a tooth, were possessed by the cathedral of St Andrews in Fife. Legends emanating from that church and the Augustinian chapter confidently dated the connection between the kingdom and their saint to the eighth century.⁴ However, in actuality it was a combination of ecclesiastical promotion and royal acquiescence between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries that led to the firm association of St Andrew with the security and prosperity of the kingdom of Scotland. The first stage in this drawn out process was the emergence of Andrew as the patron saint of the Scottish church. The catalyst for this development was challenges to the sovereignty of that church from the English church hierarchy. The Archbishops of York had been claiming metropolitan authority over the Scottish dioceses since the eleventh century. Their claims were supported by the formidable testimony of St Bede (d.735), who had stated in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* that Gregory the Great (590–604) had intended to divide the British Isles between the jurisdictions of York and Canterbury.⁵ This claim was given greater substance in the early twelfth century when it was supported formally by a series of popes who pressurised the Scottish bishops into accepting York's authority. These bishops, as well as Scottish secular leaders, were fully aware that accepting English ecclesiastical sovereignty opened the door to more intrusive claims to political overlordship. Resistance to these claims in the reigns of Alexander I (1107–24), David I and Malcolm IV (1153–65) was based around efforts to have Scotland recognised as an independent ecclesiastical province, with St Andrews as its metropolitan see.⁶

4 The earliest legends of the foundation of St Andrews and the arrival of the relics date from the early twelfth century, although as Broun has suggested, Legend A may be based upon an earlier work, Dauvit Broun, "The Church of St Andrews and its foundation legend in the early twelfth century: recovering the full text of version A of the foundation legend", in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297*, ed. Simon Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 108–115.

5 Bertram Colgrave and Robert A. B. Mynors, eds., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 104–107.

6 Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh: University Press, 2007), 109–116 & 143.

The claim of St Andrews to this special status was based upon its position as one of only three sites in Western Europe to possess relics of an apostle.⁷ In the earliest surviving legend of the foundation of St Andrews the corporeal relics of the saint were said to have arrived in Fife in the eighth century, in the care of a Greek monk called St Regulus.⁸ Although the details of the story are not to be credited, it is possible that relics could be found in Fife by the year 747, when the town first enters the written record.⁹ It is difficult to be sure exactly when the shrine began to attract a significant number of pilgrims. The earliest recorded pilgrim was an Irish prince, Aodh son of Maelmithig, who died in St Andrews in 965, but there is evidence to suggest that the late eleventh and twelfth centuries were the peak of the shrine's popularity.¹⁰ Turgot noted that St Margaret had endowed a ferry service for pilgrims crossing the Forth from the south. According to Turgot, who wrote a life of St Margaret in c.1107 and was bishop of St Andrews from 1109–1115, she was responding to large numbers of pilgrims travelling to the Fife shrine.¹¹ The earliest version of the foundation of St Andrews, known as *Legend A*, which was also produced in the early twelfth century, presented St Andrews as a “Second Rome”, attracting Greek, Armenian, Teutonic, Saxon, Danish, French, Welsh and English pilgrims.¹² A similar image of a miraculous shrine with an international clientele can be found in the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* of John of Fordun (c.1380), who referred to “people of all nations” hastening to visit the relics.¹³

Although the Europe-wide reputation of the shrine claimed by these writers appears to be an exaggeration, corroboration of the importance of St Andrews within the British Isles can be found in Welsh and English sources. Lifris of Llancarfan, who produced a life of the sixth-century Welshman St Cadog in the 1090s, was aware of the shrine's reputation for miracles, describing his hero

7 The others were Rome, with the relics of Peter and Paul, and Compostela in Galicia which claimed to possess the head of St James.

8 Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic, 1980), 258–260.

9 James E. Fraser, “Rochester, Hexham and Cennrigmonaid: The movements of St Andrew in Britain, 604–747”, *Saints' cults in the Celtic World*, ed. Steve Boardman et al., 1–17.

10 Alan O. Anderson, ed., *Early Sources of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1922), i, 216.

11 Catherine Keene, *St Margaret, Queen of the Scots. A life in perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), Appendix 1, 202, William Metcalfe, trans, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints* (Felinarch: Llanerch, 1998), i, 317.

12 Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 258–260.

13 *Chron. Fordun*, i, 70–72.

travelling to St Andrews with three disciples.¹⁴ Similar references to the shrine in three English hagiographical documents provide a further indication of the prominence of St Andrews amongst northern sacred centres in the twelfth century. In the life of St Godric of Finchale, produced in the 1170s by Reginald of Durham, the saint is described as making several visits to Fife in the 1090s to what he calls the “most famous house of the apostle St Andrew”.¹⁵ In a fairly typical case of shrine rivalry, Reginald also included several miracles that compared favourably the healing ability of Godric with Andrew, as well as other saintly rivals Thomas Becket and Cuthbert of Durham.¹⁶ This comparison was also made by the same hagiographer in a collection of miracles of St Cuthbert dating from the 1160s and 1170s, and in a similar collection relating to St Aebbe of Coldingham, compiled at the end of the twelfth century.¹⁷

English visitors could still be found at the shrine on the eve of the Wars of Independence with groups of pilgrims recorded there in 1273 and 1285.¹⁸ St Andrews was also one of a small group of shrines patronised by Edward I (1272–1307) during his attempted conquest of Scotland, with the English king making a donation to the relics in 1304.¹⁹ Following the wars, international, and particularly English interest, in St Andrews appears to have waned. The only indication of foreign visitors to St Andrews comes in the form of penitential pilgrimages from Flanders and Brabant, most notably from the cities Ypres and Antwerp.²⁰ The survival of pilgrim certificates issued to two men who had travelled to Fife in penance for serious crimes, Watier Masiere of Kortrijk and William Bondolf of Dunkirk, show that they had visited the shrine in 1319 and

14 Arthur Wade-Evans, ed. & trans., *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board 1944), 80 & 82.

15 Joseph Stevenson, eds., *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitaie de Finchale. Auctore Reginaldo Monacho Dunelmensi. Adjicitur Appendix Miraculorum* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1847), 28 & 31.

16 *Ibid.*, 219, 376, 426 & 446.

17 James Raine, eds., *Reginaldi monachi dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus quae novellis patratæ sunt temporibus* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1835), 56, 170 & 218–219; Sally Crumplin, “Cuthbert the cross-border saint in the twelfth century”, in *Saints’ cults in the Celtic World*, ed. Steve Boardman et al., 124; Robert Bartlett, ed. and trans. *The Miracles of Saint Aebbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), 50–51.

18 Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: J. B Tauris, 1999), 217.

19 *CDS*, ii. no.8.

20 Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 60, nt 123, and *ibid.*, ‘Saints at the Door’, 93–95; David McRoberts, “A St Andrews Pilgrimage Certificate of 1333 at Saint-Omer”, in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1976), 155–156; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, 218.

1333 respectively.²¹ There are no further references to such pilgrimage, and as a form of spiritual punishment these pilgrimages had gone out of fashion by the end of the fifteenth century.²² Like a number of other cathedral shrines across the British Isles and Western Europe, St Andrews appears to have seen a gradual decline in pilgrim numbers in the later middle ages.²³ In addition to the disruption caused by war, efforts to promote the relics in Fife to a wider European audience may have been hindered by the establishment of a popular shrine to Andrew at Amalfi in southern Italy after 1208.²⁴

St Andrews as a pilgrim destination would never become the “Second Rome” described in the foundation legends. However, in the twelfth century, and perhaps the thirteenth, it was a shrine of regional significance which boosted the prestige and finances of the bishop and his cathedral. Possession of the relics also contributed to the emergence of St Andrews as the most important ecclesiastical centre in Scotland in this period, eclipsing older sacred sites at Abernethy and Dunkeld.²⁵ It allowed the twelfth and thirteenth-century bishops to present a confident vision of their position as the unofficial metropolitans of the Scottish church. A plea for recognition of this status played a prominent role in the earlier of the two accounts of the origins of St Andrews (Legend A), drawn up in the early twelfth century.²⁶ This case was also made in a letter of 1120 written by Nicholas of Evesham to the bishop-elect, Eadmer of Canterbury, which described the bishop of St Andrews as the “high bishop of the Scots”.²⁷ The second account of the foundation of St Andrews, Legend B, was compiled in 1140 × 53. It took this status for granted, noting during a description of the election of Robert (1124–59) to St Andrews in 1124 that “from

21 Watier was convicted of domestic abuse, while William had committed murder, David McRoberts, “A St Andrews Pilgrimage Certificate of 1333 at Saint-Omer”, in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1976), 155–156; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, 218.

22 Ditchburn, “Saints at the Door”, 93–95.

23 Richard Dobson, “Contrasting cults; St Cuthbert of Durham and St Thomas of Canterbury in the Fifteenth Century”, in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 25–26.

24 Located on the south west coast of Italy, the shrine received relics of the apostle in 1208 which had been looted from Constantinople following the sack of the city by Crusaders in 1204. The only recorded Scottish pilgrim to visit Amalfi was James Watson, parson of Ellem in Berwickshire who was granted a safe conduct in 1508, *RSS*, i, no. 1606.

25 Ash and Broun, “The Adoption of St Andrew”, 20.

26 Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 258–260, Broun, “The Church of St Andrews”, 111.

27 Alan O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles, AD 500–1286* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991), 144, nt. 1.

ancient times...they are found called 'High Archbishops' or High Bishops of the Scots".²⁸

It was these claims to archiepiscopal status that formed the core of the Scottish argument against the superiority of York in the twelfth century. Ultimately the Scots victory in this conflict, achieved temporarily in 1176 when Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) issued the bull *Super Anxietibus*, and confirmed by a further bull known as *Cum Universi* in 1189×1192, was realised without the granting of primacy to St Andrews or its promotion to an archbishopric.²⁹ What was established by *Cum Universi* was a group of independent dioceses directly answerable to Rome.³⁰ This slightly ambiguous situation was provided with a firmer governing framework in 1225 when Pope Honorius III (1216–27) granted the Scottish church the right to hold provincial councils.³¹ Despite the failure to gain formal recognition of their position, the image of Andrew as both patron and intermediary between the papacy and Scotland had made a significant contribution to the successful resistance to York's claims, especially in the early stages of the conflict.³² The bishops of St Andrews displayed their continuing pretension to leadership of the Scottish church in the scale of their new cathedral built after 1162, and in their ongoing use of the title "episcopatus Scottorum" in official documents.³³ This dominant position was also a financial reality. By the end of the thirteenth century the annual income of the vast diocese of St Andrews, stretching from Berwick in the south, to the banks of the Dee near Aberdeen in the north, was double that of the next wealthiest see at Glasgow.³⁴

28 This is in the expanded version of the Legend that Taylor attributes to Robert, prior of St Andrews (1140 × 44–60), Simon Taylor and Gilbert Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3. St Andrews and the East Neuk* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), 610–611.

29 Archibald A.A. Duncan, *Scotland. The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1975), 263–264.

30 Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 124–146.

31 Donald E.R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 43–53.

32 Broun notes that the claims to this status were 'a crucial bargaining counter' in the series of temporary compromises between the Scots, papal legates and York until 1176, Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 110–112.

33 Richard Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish medieval church, 1100–1560* (New York: Yale University Press, 2011), 65; Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, "The Medieval Diocese of St Andrews", in *Medieval art and architecture*, ed. Higgitt, 2–3.

34 The income of the diocese of St Andrews was valued at £8008 p.a. with Glasgow the next richest at £4080 p.a. at the end of the thirteenth century. Barrow, "The Medieval Diocese of St Andrews", 1.

While the twelfth century did not bring a pallium for the bishops of St Andrews, the struggles with York had established firmly within the clerical and political community the concept of Andrew as the spiritual leader of the Scottish church.³⁵ This status, and the role of the saint and his relics in the conversion of the Scots to Christianity, was articulated fully for the first time in the thirteenth century. In Dauvit Broun's ground-breaking work on identity in Scotland prior to the Wars of Independence, he argued that a perceived historical link with Ireland was a fundamental feature of the kingdom's identity throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The connection to Ireland gave the Scottish royal line deep roots and a viable origin legend, while it also reflected the cultural and personal contacts of the kingdom's learned orders.³⁶ This view of the kingdom's past began to be challenged and adapted, probably from the reign of Alexander II (1214–49). It was in this period, rather than as a result of the wars with England, that the sense of Scotland as a sovereign nation was developed fully.³⁷ An important stage in this process had been the forging of a national church which, although lacking a metropolitan see, was given a further distinct identity with the setting up of the Scottish provincial council in 1225.³⁸ In the same period there were political changes, as first Alexander II, and later Alexander III (1249–86), gradually moved away from an ill-defined client relationship with the kings of England, to a fully sovereign kingship.³⁹

It was within this political and religious context that the earliest extended account of the history of the kingdom of the Scots was produced. This history has been convincingly traced to the 1260s and attributed to Richard Vairement, a clerical member of the household of the consort of Alexander II, Queen Marie, while she was in Scotland (1239–50).⁴⁰ This work, known to later chroniclers as “*Veremundus*”, can be extrapolated from the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* compiled by John of Fordun in the 1370 and 1380s. The CGS was itself based upon the work of an anonymous synthesist, completed no later than 1285.⁴¹ It was the first in a series of historical tracts whose central theme was an

35 Marinall Ash and Dauvit Broun, “The Adoption of St Andrew as patron saint of Scotland”, in *Medieval art and architecture in the diocese of St Andrews*, ed. John Higgitt (London: British Archaeological Association, 1994), 22.

36 Dauvit Broun, *Irish identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 1–10 & 195–200.

37 Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 6–7 & 215–217.

38 *Ibid.*, 164–165; Watt, *Medieval Church Councils*, 43–53.

39 Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 101–109, 161–212.

40 For Vairement's career see Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (Edinburgh: University Press, 2003), 192–193.

41 Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 215–232 & 235–268.

explanation of the longstanding political independence of the kingdom of the Scots.⁴² To support this narrative of political sovereignty, these chronicles developed a distinctive history of Christianity in Scotland. Those saints who were deemed to have been active in Scotland provided the chronological markers for this history, with their careers demonstrating the richness and longevity of the kingdom's Christian past and, perhaps more importantly, of its independent ecclesiastical institutions. Within this narrative it would be made clear that the arrival of orthodox Christian ideas in Scotland came from continental Europe and in particular from Rome, rather than from England or Ireland.

In the *CGS*, Christianity was said to have arrived in Scotland in 203 AD around the time of the papacy of Victor I (c.189–199) and the reign of the Roman Emperor Septimius Severus (193–211). The successful conversion of the inhabitants of the kingdom was then ensured by the arrival of the relics of St Andrew in the care of St Regulus, an event that the *CGS* dates to the end of the fourth century.⁴³ Regulus and his companions, after founding a church in St Andrews, “went forth preaching throughout the country” converting “the nations”. In 430 AD St Palladius was sent to Scotland from Rome by Pope Celestinus (422–432). His role was to provide the Scots with orthodox teaching and a governing framework around which to build a national church. To achieve this Palladius appointed two bishops, a native called Serf who had impressed with his teaching of the sacraments, and one of his own disciples, Ternan. The next generation of churchmen in the sixth century, most notably St Columba, further cemented the ecclesiastical hierarchy provided by Palladius and his disciples and introduced monastic organisations. The career of the patron of Iona is described at length in *CGS*, with particular significance given to his close relationship with the Pictish monarchy. Further progress was made by his contemporaries Kentigern and Convallus in Strathclyde, and by Drostan in the north east. The final stage in the development of the Scottish church was heralded by the arrival of Margaret, presented in the *CGS* as both a figure worthy of veneration and, with her marriage to Malcolm III, as a founder of the modern Scottish dynasty.⁴⁴ The narrative framework laid out in the *CGS* would, with some additions and fine-tuning, remain the standard outline of Scottish church history until the Reformation.

42 Steve Boardman, “A People Divided? Language, History and Anglo-Scottish Conflict in the Work of Andrew of Wyntoun”, in *Ireland and the English world in the late middle ages*, ed. Brendan Smith (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 114.

43 *CGS* explains the arrival of the relics 400 years before the date mentioned in Legend A, by noting the existence of another king Hunguist in the 380s/390s, and recording that the 800 AD Hunguist gave significant territory to the church of St Andrews.

44 *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 56–57, 69–72, 85–87, 103–109 & 201–210.

The struggles of the twelfth century had established firmly within the clerical and political community the importance of Andrew as a protector and symbol of Scottish ecclesiastical independence. The St Andrews origin legends, and the earliest history of the kingdom of the Scots, show that the community that possessed his relics was keen to present the apostle not only as a patron, but as an active evangelist who had played a central role in the Christianisation of Scotland through the medium of his relics and their custodians. While it has been suggested that Andrew could be confidently described as patron of the Scots by the thirteenth century, it is only writings that emanate from the community at St Andrews that claim a direct connection between the saint and the kingdom as a whole prior to 1286.⁴⁵ It would be a particular set of political circumstances after that date that elevated Andrew to this national status.

2 The Death of Alexander III and the Seal of the Guardians

In 1286, six disastrous years for the Scottish royal house culminated in the accidental death of Alexander III, thrown from his horse on a Fife beach.⁴⁶ The Scottish political community reacted to the unexpected death of an adult king, whose only heir was his three year old granddaughter Margaret, by setting up an interim government run by six guardians.⁴⁷ The guardians commissioned a new seal, to replace the now defunct seal of the dead king, featuring a conventional depiction of a monarch on the front. On the reverse however, they departed from normal custom, displaying an image of the apostle surrounded by the legend “St Andrew be leader of the Scots, your fellow countryman”.⁴⁸ As one commentator has suggested, the image and legend purported continuity

45 Ash & Broun, “The Adoption of St Andrew”, 23–24. Hall argues that ‘St Andrew was not of pre-dominant importance, and was far from being the patron saint of Scotland down to middle of the thirteenth century’, Ursula Hall, *St Andrew and Scotland* (St Andrews: University Library Press, 1994), 119.

46 Alexander’s two sons and daughter had died between 1280 and 1284.

47 The six guardians included two representing the earls, Alexander Comyn of Buchan and Duncan of Fife, two for the church, William Fraser of St Andrews and Robert Wishart of Glasgow, and two for the barons, John Comyn of Badenoch and James Stewart, Geoffrey, W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the community of the realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh: University Press, 2005), 3–26.

48 John H. Stevenson and Marguerite Wood, eds., *Scottish Heraldic Seals* (Glasgow: University Press, 1940), i, 18.

with the past.⁴⁹ However, this was the past from a particular perspective. The placing of the apostle on the seal emphasised the informal position of the bishops of St Andrews as the “episcopatus Scottorum”, a status that they had been claiming since at least the twelfth century. The decision to connect the apostle directly to the Scottish realm in this manner can be attributed to one of the guardians, the bishop of St Andrews, William Fraser (1279–97). The episcopates of Fraser and his direct predecessors were characterised by sustained promotion of their diocesan saint. They had developed the definitive version of the St Andrews origin legend and depicted the apostle on their episcopal seals.⁵⁰ It would be the image of the saint from Fraser’s institutional seal that was transferred onto the seal of the Guardians in 1286.

Although Andrew, as a biblical saint from a distant time and place, appears to have been a non-partisan figure around which to unite national sentiment, he was figuratively, and literally in the case of his relics, the property of the bishops and cathedral chapter of St Andrews.⁵¹ It is likely that the promotion of Andrew in this way caused some disquiet amongst other Scottish churchmen. The second ecclesiastical member of the council was the bishop of Glasgow, Robert Wishart (1271–1316). In the twelfth century the independence of his diocese had been threatened in turn by the metropolitan claims of Canterbury, York and St Andrews. Glasgow was steered through these competing claims by a combination of good fortune and the actions of a series of skilled ecclesiastical politicians.⁵² Foremost amongst these was Jocelin, who held the bishopric from 1174 to 1199.⁵³ In 1176 Jocelin secured from Pope Alexander III the bull *Super anxietatibus* which confirmed Glasgow as an

49 Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 17. Ash has suggested that the seal represented the new relationship between church and state that had developed during the reign of Alexander III. Marinall Ash, “The Church in the Reign of Alexander III”, in *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III, 1249–86*, ed. Norman H. Reid (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 47. Norman Reid suggests Andrew was used to represent the community of the realm, Norman Reid, “The kingless kingdom: the Scottish guardianships of 1286–1306”, *Scottish Historical Review* 111 (1982), 125–126.

50 Ash, “The Church in the Reign of Alexander III”, 47. The earliest extant use of the image of Andrew was on the seal of Bishop Gameline (1255–71), Stevenson and Wood, eds. *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 85. All subsequent bishops and archbishops of the diocese depicted Andrew on their seals.

51 As Borst notes, the usefulness of these saints was that by coming from a distant time and place they were not exclusively the property of any one “social or regional group”, Borst, *Medieval Worlds*, 136.

52 Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 111.

53 Duncan, “St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral in the Twelfth Century”, 10.

independent diocese exempt from arch-episcopal jurisdiction. It was this 'Special Daughter' status, as it became known, that secured the independence of the Scottish church as a whole when it was extended to the other dioceses by the bull *Cum Universi* in 1189×92. Jocelin was a member of the Cistercian order, and he used these international connections, a legal argument based around the distinctive 'Welsh' identity of his diocese, and his close relationship with the Scottish crown to secure Glasgow from outside interference.⁵⁴

The restoration of the diocese of Glasgow in the early twelfth century had been a royal initiative. The earliest bishops, John (1114×118–47), Herbert (1147–64) and Ingelram (1164–74), were royal placemen who undertook administrative roles in the court of David I and his successors. These early bishops were keen to develop the prestige of their episcopal seat, which was in competition with long-established local sacred sites like the church of St Constantine at Govan. They did so by promoting the cult of St Kentigern, whose bones could be found in their cathedral. Whilst there may have been a local cult based around the saint in the former kingdom of Strathclyde, and perhaps in Lothian, following his death in 612 AD, recent research has shown that there is little evidence of widespread interest in the saint prior to the twelfth century.⁵⁵ The cult that developed from the early 1100s was the result of the promotional activities of the bishops who encouraged the cult of their patron with building campaigns, relic translations and the production of two new hagiographical works.⁵⁶ The most active of these bishops was Jocelin, who used as a model for his promotion of Kentigern the successful cults of the recently canonised Thomas of Canterbury (1173) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1174).⁵⁷ Jocelin's most notable

54 Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 138–146.

55 The only contemporary record for the existence of Kentigern, or Mungo as he is often called, is the obit of his death in the *Annales Cambriae* dated at AD 612. The obit stated that "Conthigirmi obitus et Dibric episcopi", Alan Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland. Essays in Scottish Church History, AD 450–1093* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), 117; John R. Davies, "Bishop Kentigern among the Britons", in *Saints' cults in the Celtic World*, ed. Steve Boardman et al., 66–73; Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 124–128.

56 For the twelfth and thirteenth century cult of St Kentigern see Duncan, "St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral", 9–22; Davies, 'Bishop Kentigern among the Britons', 66–90; Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 124–128; Norman Shead, "Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow", *Innes Review* 21 (1970), 3–16; and Tom Turpie, "A Casualty of War? Kentigern of Glasgow, Scottish patron saints and the Bruce/Comyn conflict", in *Bute. History and People*, ed. Anna Ritchie (Lerwick: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 2012), 61–73.

57 Some relics of Thomas were recorded in an inventory at the cathedral in 1432, Cosmo Innes, ed., *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1843), ii, 175.

success was the development of a close relationship between the saint and the royal house. For William I (1165–1214), Kentigern was a personal intercessor second only to his commitment to St Thomas.⁵⁸

Although it has been suggested that royal interest in the saint began to wane after William's death, his successors, Alexander II and Alexander III, continued to be major patrons of Glasgow Cathedral.⁵⁹ In 1284 Alexander III indicated his personal commitment to the saint by founding an altar dedicated to Kentigern in the nave of the cathedral. This poignant dedication was made in the midst of a period of personal tragedy for the king who lost his youngest son and daughter in 1280 and 1283, and his eldest son in January 1284. The altar was intended as a family commemoration, providing prayers for the souls of his ancestors and family, most notably his recently deceased children.⁶⁰ Acts such as this would have helped fuel the confidence of the bishops of Glasgow in the strength of their relationship with the royal house. The manner in which they perceived this bond can be seen in a seal belonging to Robert Wishart, who was a member of the council of Guardians in 1286. The bishop's counter seal was divided into three niches with Kentigern at the top, a royal couple in the middle and a praying bishop underneath. The seal plainly depicted Glasgow's perception of the special relationship between their saint, his successor bishop and the royal house.⁶¹

Another contemporary model may have been the translation that occurred as part of the canonisation process of Edward the Confessor in 1161–3: Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 16.

58 William dedicated the abbey of Arbroath to Thomas, Duncan, "St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral", 13–19; Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, ed., *Regesta regum Scottorum, The Acts of William I. King of Scots, 1164–1216* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1971), nos. 216, 283, 426 & 217.

59 Sheah has suggested that royal interest in the cult had begun to wane from the accession of Alexander II in 1214. However, although neither Alexander II nor Alexander III granted new lands or churches to the saint, but they remained major patrons of the cathedral. Sheah, "Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow", 14; James M. Scoular, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Handlist of the Acts of Alexander II, 1214–49* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1959), no. 232; Grant G. Simpson, *Regesta Regum Scottorum, Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III, Guardians and John, 1249–1296* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1960), no. 148.

60 Sheah, "Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow", 11; John Durkan, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", *Innes Review* 21 (1970), 65; Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 235.

61 Stevenson and Wood, eds. *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 110. The imagery of this seal also tied in neatly with stories from the *Vita Kentegerni* centred on the relationship between the saint and King Rederarch of Strathclyde, Forbes, ed. *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, 94–96.

William (1283 × 85–1288), the bishop of Dunkeld who ranked third in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Scotland, may also have been uncomfortable by the promotion of Andrew in this way. The bishop was the custodian of the main eastern centre of the cult of St Columba, a saint who was the earliest identifiable patron of the Scottish kingdom, a status that developed from the ninth century under the patronage of the Cenel nGabrain royal dynasty. Described by Clancy as “Scotland’s premier saint”, the close relationship between the crown and Columba between the ninth and twelfth centuries is evident in the naming patterns of the royal house, four of whom bore the name Mael Coluim, meaning in Gaelic ‘servant of Columba’.⁶² Poetry from the period suggests that Columba was viewed as an effective saint of war, with objects like the Cathbuaid, or Victory Bringer, and possibly the Brechbennach, a reliquary/banner connected to the saint, carried by the men of Alba against their Norwegian and English foes.⁶³ While Columba remained a popular patron of the western seaboard, and specifically of the Lordship of the Isles, into the sixteenth century and beyond, his status in the eastern and lowland regions of Scotland was heavily reliant on continued support from the crown.⁶⁴

The first fractures in this relationship were evident in the late eleventh century with the establishment of royal burial at Dunfermline after 1093.⁶⁵ This process continued as part of the broad social, political and economic changes

62 Clancy, “Columba, Adomnan and the cult of saints in Scotland”, 30; Thomas Clancy, “Personal, Political and Pastoral: The multiple agenda of Adomnán’s Life of St Columba”, in *The Polar Twins*, eds. Edward J. Cowan and Douglas Gifford (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999), 57.

63 Clancy, “Columba, Adomnan and the cult of saints in Scotland”, 26; Anderson, ed., *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 407. The Brechbennach is first mentioned in 1209×1211 when it was gifted to Arbroath by William I: Barrow, ed. *The Acts of William I*, no. 499. The object, which had a knight service attached to it, was later leased to a series of families in the north-east. Cosmo Innes, ed., *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc. Registrum Abacie de Aberbrothoc* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1848–56), i, 340, ii, 39, 108, 208, 349, 236 & 409.

64 Thomas O. Clancy, “Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages”, in *Local saints and local churches in the early medieval West*, eds. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 408. For the western cult in the later middle ages, John Bannerman, “The Lordship of the Isles”, in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Jenny Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 229; and Richard Sharpe, “Roderick Maclean’s *Life of St Columba in Latin Verse* (1549)”, *Innes Review* 92 (1991), 111–137; Clancy, “Scottish Saints and National Identities”, 408.

65 While there is some debate over Iona’s use as a royal mausoleum before 1093, it would certainly never be used again after that date. Steve Boardman, “Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum”, in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. Richard Fawcett (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2005), 139–154.

that accompanied the 'Europeanisation' of twelfth and thirteenth century Scotland.⁶⁶ Although Alexander I displayed some interest in the saint, Columba was replaced gradually as the royal patron by the dynasty's new sainted ancestor, Margaret.⁶⁷ Whilst Columba remained an important figure in Vairemont's thirteenth-century history of the Scottish church, the saint had played no part in the arguments for Scottish ecclesiastical independence in the twelfth century. The severing of the relationship with the crown may have been accelerated in the thirteenth century by legends emanating from the Hebrides, in particular one story which claimed that the saint had been responsible for the death of Alexander II. Recorded in Haakon's Saga, and in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, this legend noted that during his campaign to extend Scottish royal power into the west in 1249, Alexander II was visited in his sleep by Columba who demanded the withdrawal of his forces from the Hebrides. Having rejected this ultimatum, Alexander perished on the island of Kerrara before he could inflict further damage on the region.⁶⁸ Although the later middle ages would see concerted efforts by Walter Bower and a series of Dunkeld bishops to resuscitate the connection between Columba and the Scottish crown, in the east and lowlands the saint appears to have been increasingly viewed as the patron of the Western Isles, rather than of the kingdom and its royal dynasty.

The custodians of the shrine of St Margaret at Dunfermline, the royal patron who had replaced Columba, may also have felt marginalised by the actions of the Guardians in 1286. Efforts to promote the sanctity of Margaret began shortly after her death in 1093 with the production of the *Vita Margaretae* by her chaplain Turgot.⁶⁹ However, it would take 157 years, a miracle collection, and support from Scottish and English kings, before Margaret was formally canonised by the papacy in 1250.⁷⁰ Those behind the promotion of the Margaret cult, the royal house and the custodians at Dunfermline, were keen to promote her as a national patron. This aim can be seen within the miracle collection

66 Matthew Hammond, "Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland", in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, eds Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 61–86.

67 Keith Veitch, "'Replanting Paradise': Alexander I and the return of Religious life to Scotland" *Innes Review*, 52 (2001), 136–166.

68 Anderson, ed., *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ii, 557. In the Saga version Columba was accompanied by the Norse saints Olaf and Magnus, but it is he who takes the central role, talking to Alexander. In the *Chronica Majora* it says that Alexander II "incurred the displeasure of God and St Columba" and makes no mention of other saints. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*, 360–361.

69 Keene, *St Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, Appendix 1.

70 *Ibid.*, 119–131.

which was probably first put together for the canonisation campaign of the 1240s.⁷¹ A miracle later included in the collection featured Margaret's intervention on the side of Scottish forces at the battle of Largs (1263). During this moment of national crisis, Margaret appeared to John, Lord of Wemyss, informing him that she was hurrying to Largs to defend "our country", and "her kingdom".⁷² Despite these efforts by the royal house and the shrine custodians at Dunfermline, St Margaret would never become Scotland's patron saint. The sainted monarchs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whilst playing a vital role in the consolidation of the dynasties they represented, seldom developed into wider political patrons.⁷³ They were partisan figures, too closely associated with the royal dynasty to represent the political community as a whole. It was probably this connection to the royal house, rather than to the wider community, that made Margaret an unsuitable symbol for the guardians in 1286.⁷⁴

3 Patron Saints in the Wars of Independence

The concept of Andrew as the representative of the Scottish political community, as depicted on the seal of the Guardians, was transformed into a recognisable reality by the propaganda battles of the Wars of Independence. As with the conflict between the Scottish bishops and York over primacy in the earlier period, the diplomacy of the Anglo-Scottish wars required a strong and internationally recognised patron for the Scots, a role much better suited to Andrew than Columba, Kentigern or indeed Margaret. In 1301 Edward I had sent a letter to Boniface VII (1294–1303), which claimed his legal and historical right to sovereignty over the Scots.⁷⁵ In order to refute these claims, Scottish diplomats at the curia fell back on Vairemont's origin legend. A central part of the argument presented by Scottish procurators in 1301 was the claim that Christianity had been brought to Scotland in the fourth century by the arrival of the "venerable relics of the blessed apostle".⁷⁶ The conversion of the Scots was therefore said to have occurred before the "Saxons" and "English" had embraced the faith. The

71 Bartlett, ed. and trans. *Miracles*, xxxiv–xxxviii.

72 *Ibid.*, 88–90.

73 Borst, *Medieval Worlds*, 135–136. Edward the Confessor in England is perhaps the best example of this.

74 Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 17; Reid, "The kingless kingdom", 125–126.

75 Roy J. Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland. Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1993), 66–78; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 152–156.

76 *Chron. Bower*, vi, 149 & 173.

early arrival of the relics of St Andrew was used to prove the longevity of the direct relationship between the Scottish church and Rome, and refute any claims that the Scots had been subordinate to their pagan neighbour in the early middle ages.⁷⁷ This connection between the apostle and Scottish ecclesiastical and secular independence was echoed in the best known diplomatic document of the conflict. In the Declaration of Arbroath (1320), Andrew was presented as the patron of the small kingdom located at the “uttermost ends of the earth”.⁷⁸ The letter, with its papal audience in mind, argued that the patronage of the apostle was one of several factors that proved the sovereignty of the kingdom.⁷⁹ The presentation of Andrew as the sole patron of the kingdom perfectly suited the direct and uncomplicated refutation of the English claims to sovereignty required by the political situation in 1301 and 1320.

The Declaration of Arbroath was the work of Robert I's (1306–1329) promotional team and he was the first king to celebrate Andrew actively as the patron saint of the Scottish kingdom.⁸⁰ It seems that Robert associated his victory at Bannockburn in 1314 with the intercession of the saint, granting an annual stipend of 100 merks to the cathedral priory at St Andrews in gratitude, and taking centre stage at the consecration of the rebuilt church in 1318.⁸¹ This ceremony has been described by one commentator as the “vindication of Scottish independence”, and is generally viewed as a national thanksgiving for the victory over the English.⁸² This notion is based upon Walter Bower's account of the consecration written in the 1440s. Bower described the participation of Robert I, along with William Lamberton, the bishop of St Andrews (1297–1328) and Duncan, earl of Fife (d.1353), as symbolising the involvement of the three estates, and therefore of the whole kingdom, in showing appreciation for the role of St Andrew in recent Scottish victories.⁸³ While Bower's St Andrews diocesan bias means that we must treat his description of events with a degree of caution, the consecration does appear to have been some

77 It was also claimed that the conversion of Cumbria, Northumbria and Westmoreland had been carried out by Scottish missionaries Columba, Aidan, Finan and Colman, *Ibid*, i, 149.

78 Barrow, ed., *Declaration of Arbroath*, xiii–v.

79 Alongside papal recognition, the unbroken line of kings and victory over external enemies were used to prove the sovereignty of the kingdom, *ibid*, xiii–v.

80 Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 318.

81 *Ibid*, 318; *Chron. Bower*, ii, 271–272.

82 Ronald G. Cant, “The Building of St Andrews Cathedral”, in *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, ed. McRoberts, 26–27.

83 *Chron. Bower*, vi, 363–366. The patronage of St Andrew is a common theme in the *Scotichronicon*, with the apostle credited with earlier victories at Stainmore (1298), Roslin (1302) as well as Bannockburn.

form of national ceremony, emphasising the bond between the patronage of St Andrew and Scottish regnal independence, a theme evident in the Declaration of Arbroath just two years later.

By the early fourteenth century there is evidence that this connection was coming to be recognised beyond Scotland. An English political song from c.1300, about the ousting of John Balliol (1292–96), referred to Andrew as the “leader” of the Scots.⁸⁴ The controversial manner in which Robert had seized the throne meant that the decision to identify his kingship with Andrew was a logical, and perhaps necessary, step. While his faith in Andrew as an intercessor may also have played a role, Robert would have been keen to attach himself to the apostle as a figure who had come to be associated with the independence of the Scottish realm. St Andrews was not the only cult centre that had political value for a king whose accession to the throne had come in highly controversial circumstances. The search for legitimacy was also a strong motivation behind Robert’s high profile patronage of Dunfermline Abbey, where he was buried in 1329.⁸⁵ With this act Robert was consciously identifying himself with both the patron saint and the burial place of much of the dynasty through which he claimed the throne.⁸⁶ In the early fourteenth century Dunfermline became a focus for supporters of the Bruce dynasty. Bruce was joined in Dunfermline by Thomas Randolph (d.1332) and Andrew Murray (d.1338), while it also had been the intention of his son David II (1329–71) to be interred there.

The symbolic relationship between St Andrew and the royal house was reinforced when a new dynasty inherited the Scottish throne in 1371. The succession of the first Stewart king Robert II (1371–90), a veteran politician who had a difficult relationship with his predecessor David II, had not gone uncontested.⁸⁷ Therefore when an opportunity to identify with an apparently national cause was presented by a fire at the cathedral in 1378, Robert paid for masons to help reconstruct the building.⁸⁸ Andrew of Wyntoun, who was a contemporary

84 The line reads “Andrew will no longer be their leader”, in reference to the defeated Scots. Peter Coss, *Thomas Wright’s Political Songs of England. From the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 181.

85 Robert made a number of fresh grants of lands, rights and church patronage to the abbey. Archibald A.M. Duncan, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum v : The Acts of Robert I, 1306–29* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1986), nos. 43, 188, 206, 234, 406, 407, 411 & 413.

86 Boardman, “Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum”, 144.

87 Contest seems to have come primarily from the Douglas family who had a slender claim to the Throne. Steve Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings. Robert II and Robert III, 1371–1406* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 39.

88 The fire is mentioned in *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 309–311. Payments to the masons were made in 1381 and 1384, *ER*, iii, 70 & 674.

observer of the building work, or at least of the finished product in the early 1400s, provides an interesting description of the project. He stated that Walter Trail, bishop of St Andrews (1385–1401) supplied the wood beams, and that the nine pillars of the church were engraved with the arms of “sum lords” who had contributed towards the restoration.⁸⁹ The only extant fragment of these pillars contains the arms of the Lordship of Man, at that time claimed by George Dunbar, earl of March (d.1420).⁹⁰ A combination of dynastic failures and royal acquisitions had seen, by the 1370s, the seventeen earldoms of Scotland divided amongst only nine men, a number of whom were sons of Robert II.⁹¹ It is possible that the reconstruction of St Andrews was considered a national project to which each of the top rank of the nobility were expected to contribute. However, Dunbar’s earldom was also within the diocese of St Andrews and the nine lords may have been drawn from the ranks of the nobility of the see, men keen to enjoy the spiritual benefits this patronage would bring. Whichever scenario occurred, the involvement of the monarch, bishop and secular lords in the project of 1378 echoed the ceremony of 1318, suggesting that St Andrews was firmly established as a national shrine in the mind of the governing class and clergy by the end of the fourteenth century.

While St Andrews and Dunfermline had benefited from the succession of the Bruce and Stewart dynasties, the custodians of the relics of Kentigern and Columba were less fortunate. The carefully cultivated relationship between Glasgow and the royal house did not survive the Wars of Independence, with the Bruce dynasty and the early Stewart kings displaying little interest in the cathedral or in Kentigern.⁹² This is surprising as Robert Wishart, whose seal

89 Andrew Wyntoun was a canon of the cathedral; his description of the reconstruction is vague, and does not specify the lords involved, *Chron. Wyntoun*, vi, 309–311.

90 This pillar fragment is preserved in the St Andrews Cathedral Museum. Cant, “The Building of St Andrews Cathedral”, 30n 71.

91 Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 71–107. The nine lords were John Dunbar, earl of Moray; George Dunbar, earl of March; William, earl of Douglas & Mar; Duncan, earl of Lennox; Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney; Robert, earl of Sutherland; David Stewart, earl of Caithness & Strathearn; John Stewart (future Robert III, 1390–1406), earl of Carrick & Atholl; Robert Stewart, earl of Fife & Mentieth. Alexander Stewart, the notorious ‘Wolf of Badenoch’, did not receive the earldom of Buchan until 1382.

92 Robert I made no new grants to the cathedral or saint, merely confirming the traditional royal stipends from Rutherglen and Cadzow which had presumably gone into abeyance during the interregnum. Duncan, ed., *The Acts of Robert I*, nos. 50 & 52–54. David II also showed little interest in the saint and re-assigned the payment from Cadzow to the Hamilton family in 1369. Bruce Webster, ed., *Regesta Regum Scottorum VI: The Acts of David II, 1329–71* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1982), nos. 82, 87, 91 & 443.

had confidently depicted the relationship between the crown and Glasgow, was a key supporter of the Bruce regime. Dubbed the “bad bishop” by the English, he was eventually captured and imprisoned by Edward I, and was only released after Bannockburn.⁹³ Wishart had exhorted his flock to support Bruce, regardless of the sacrilegious murder of John Comyn within his diocese, and had even used wood intended for his cathedral to make siege engines. However, Wishart was dead by 1316 and his cathedral would not receive the same patronage from the king as that of his contemporary, Lamberton of St Andrews. Like the Bruces, the early Stewart kings also had a traditional ancestral interest in Glasgow and Kentigern dating back to the twelfth century, but little interest was shown in the saint and institution by the new dynasty until the reign of James II (1437–1460).⁹⁴

The decline in royal veneration of St Kentigern has been noted by Norman Shead and Peter Yeoman, with the latter tentatively suggesting that patronage of the shrine by Edward I may have led to this distancing by the Bruce and Stewart dynasties.⁹⁵ Edward had visited Glasgow in August and September 1301, making four separate offerings at the relics.⁹⁶ The suggestion that the shrine was considered to have been polluted is an intriguing one. However, similar visits by the English monarch and his son to Whithorn, Dunfermline and St Andrews appear to have had little effect on the popularity of those shrines or ecclesiastical institutions with either Scottish pilgrims or the royal house.⁹⁷ A more compelling explanation is that the break with Glasgow resulted from the conflict between the Bruces and Comyns. Although members of the Bruce family had been patrons of the shrine and cathedral in the twelfth century, Glasgow had never been a primary focus of their patronage. Disputes over the control of churches in Annandale had also led to tensions between the family and successive Glasgow bishops in the late twelfth century.⁹⁸ The main patrons of the cathedral in the thirteenth century had been the Comyn

93 In a letter of 1306, Edward I expressed his delight at the capture of Wishart, *CDS*, ii, no. 1286; the career of the bishop is discussed in Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 106, 193 & 197.

94 Walter, son of Alan, was a major patron of Glasgow Cathedral in the twelfth century. Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 20, Turpie, “A Casualty of War?”, 61–73.

95 Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 1999), 28; Shead, “Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow”, 16.

96 *CDS*, iv, 448–449.

97 *Ibid*, ii, no. 1225, iv, nos. 448–449, 486 & 487.

98 The church at Guisborough was the traditional recipient of patronage from both the English and Scottish branches of the family. Ruth M. Blakely, *The Brus Family In England and Scotland, 1100–1295* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 167–180.

and Balliol kindreds.⁹⁹ It is possible that the association with these groups, who had opposed the Bruce succession, made the cult too controversial for the new regime, breaking the personal relationship between crown, saint and the ecclesiastical institution at Glasgow which had existed from the reign of William I.

The fracture of the relationship between Columba and the royal house, begun before the wars, was completed in the early fourteenth century with the saint appearing to hold little interest for either of the new royal dynasties.¹⁰⁰ Columban imagery had lingered on in royal seals and ceremonies into the thirteenth century, but does not appear to have survived the wars.¹⁰¹ It was in this period that the Brechbennach, a reliquary box containing bones of the saint, also disappeared from use in royal ceremonials.¹⁰² A symbol of the connection between Columba and the royal house, according to Walter Bower, the reliquary was carried to Bannockburn in 1314 by Bernard, abbot of Arbroath.¹⁰³ Shortly after Bannockburn, Bernard disposed of the relic, leasing it to the Monymusk family along with the associated lands of Forglen in Nairnshire.¹⁰⁴ The presence of the object at the battle is not corroborated by any other source and it may well have been invented by Bower. This would fit with a key theme of the *Scotichronicon* in which Columba is presented as a powerful protector of the abbey of Inchcolm, where Bower was based, and the kingdom of Scotland as a whole.¹⁰⁵ Even if, as Bower suggests, the relic was present at Bannockburn, there is little evidence after 1314 that the Brechbennach was an important part

99 Turpie, "A Casualty of War?", 65–66.

100 Columba had featured in the Scottish narrative presented by Baldred Bisset in 1301. However, he was described, alongside Aidan and Finnan, only as one of the "first teachers of the Scots", *Chron. Bower*, vi, 149. There is no documentary evidence to link Robert I or David II to any of the eastern or western Columban cult centres after 1306.

101 John Bannerman, "The Kings Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III", *Scottish Historical Review* 68 (1989), 120–150; Archibald A.M. Duncan, "Before Coronation; Making a King at Scone in the thirteenth century", in *The Stone of Destiny, Artefact and Icon*, eds. Richard Welander et al. (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 139–168; and Dauvit Broun, "The Origin of the Stone of Scone as a National Icon", in *ibid*, 182–197.

102 This may have been the object known as the Monymusk reliquary, now housed in the National Museum of Scotland, David Caldwell, "The Monymusk Reliquary, the Brechbennach of St Columba?" *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* cxxxi (2001), 267–282.

103 *Chron. Bower*, vi, 365.

104 For the next century the Brechbennach changed owners through inheritance into the Fraser and Urry families, finally coming into the hands of the Irvines of Drum in around 1420. Innes, ed., *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, i, 340, ii, 39, 108, 208, 349, 236 & 409.

105 *Chron. Bower*, ix, 352.

of Scottish military symbolism. What is also not entirely clear is the extent to which the object was used prior to 1314. There was no mention of it associated with Neville's Cross (1346), where David II lost the Holy Rood of St Margaret; Sauchieburn (1488), where the sword of Robert I was found after the battle; or during the Flodden campaign in 1513 when Scottish naval forces flew banners featuring images of Andrew and Margaret.¹⁰⁶

4 Andrew and the Scots in the Later Middle Ages and the Chronicles of Wyntoun and Bower

Following the wars of the early fourteenth century a series of symbolic actions would connect Andrew further with the imagery of an independent Scottish kingdom, and of its royal dynasty. In 1385, amongst the ordinances for the governance of a Franco-Scottish army was the instruction that all troops were to wear the white cross of St Andrew.¹⁰⁷ This order was repeated in 1523 during another combined Franco-Scottish campaign, with the symbol used to signify that, as Anne Curry has suggested, it was a war fought in the name of the King of Scots with the assistance of the French.¹⁰⁸ During the reign of Robert III (1390–1406) the saltire was first placed on the Scottish coinage, where it would remain throughout the later middle ages.¹⁰⁹ The same symbol would also be placed on the royal privy seal during the reign of James II in the 1450s, and on all royal seals thereafter.¹¹⁰ This process continued into the reigns of James III (1460–88) and James IV (1488–1513), which saw an increasingly close association between Andrew and the Stewart dynasty.¹¹¹ This connection was depicted on the Trinity Panels, an altarpiece commissioned by James III, in which the apostle was shown in typically patronal mode, standing behind the king and

106 Linda Rollason, "Spoils of War? Durham Cathedral and the Black Rood of Scotland", in *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346*, eds. David Rollason and Michael Prestwich (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1998), 57–65; *ER*, x, 82; Macdougall, *James III*, 275–276; *TA*, iv, 521.

107 Thomas Thomson and Cosmo Innes, eds., *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, 1814–75), i, 555.

108 *TA*, v, 227. Anne Curry, "Disciplinary ordinances for English and Franco-Scottish armies in 1385: An International Code?" *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), 283.

109 Ian H. Stewart, *Scottish Coinage* (London: Spink and Son, 1955), 35–41.

110 The Privy Seal of James II had a saltire on the reverse, the same seals were used by James III, IV and V. Stevenson and Wood, eds. *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 27–30.

111 Roger Mason, "Renaissance Monarchy? Stewart kingship, 1469–1542", in *Scottish Kingship, 1306–1542. Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, eds. Michael Brown and Roland Tanner (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), 266.

his son.¹¹² A similar motif is evident in an image from a book of hours which commemorated the wedding of James IV and Margaret Tudor in 1503. The king was shown kneeling, alongside the patron of the Stewart family and his name saint James the Greater, in front of an altar triptych on which was displayed Jesus with St Andrew at his right hand.¹¹³ During the reign of James IV the thistle collar and St Andrew pendant would also be incorporated onto the royal coat of arms, while banners and standards bearing the saltire and other images of the saint were flown by the king's new naval forces.¹¹⁴ This military link is also evident in the likely existence of a Scottish chivalric order, the order of St Andrew, founded either by James III in the 1470s or by James V (1513–42) in early sixteenth century.¹¹⁵

The actions of some Scots who resided abroad in the fifteenth century suggest that this process had filtered beyond the royal house and into other social groups. These groups of Scots, monks, students and merchants, used communal religious bonds, such as fraternities based around altars in churches, as the focus for their small expatriate communities.¹¹⁶ A number of these groups chose Andrew as the symbol for this group identity. At the universities of Orleans and Paris, where the Scots had their own administrative unit or 'nation', the students observed 30 November as a special feast day. At Orleans the Scottish students also used the saltire as the emblem of their fraternity.¹¹⁷ Scottish monks in the Bavarian city of Regensburg petitioned their Irish abbot in 1500 for the right to form a confraternity based around an altar dedicated to St Andrew. The use of Andrew as a symbol by these monks was intended to distinguish them from Irish monks in German monasteries, who were also confusingly grouped under the heading of "Scoti".¹¹⁸

112 Colin Thompson and Lorna Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh* (London: Zwemmer, 1974), 55, Plate 1 for the panel depicting James and Andrew.

113 Leslie Macfarlane, "The Book of Hours of James IV and Margaret Tudor", *Innes Review* 17 (1966), 3–21.

114 The collar and pendant first appear in the book of hours mentioned above. Standards with the saltire were ordered for the Great Michael and the Queen's ship and other banners of St Andrew are mentioned in 1512: *TA*, iv, 297, 477 & 521.

115 There is considerable debate as to when this order was founded. Katie Stevenson, "The Unicorn, St Andrew and the Thistle: Was there an Order of Chivalry in late medieval Scotland?" *Scottish Historical Review* 83 (2004), 3–22.

116 David Ditchburn has suggested that Ninian, on his own or in combination with Andrew, gave the Scottish communities abroad a distinct identity. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 247.

117 Donald E.R. Watt, "Scottish Student life abroad in the fourteenth century", *Scottish Historical Review* 59 (1980), 7.

118 "Scoti" or "Scotti" was an old Roman term used to describe the Gaels in general, so could mean Scots or Irish in different contexts, Mark Dilworth, *The Scots in Franconia. A Century of Monasticism* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1974), 18–19.

In Bruges, the hub through which Scottish exports were landed and then distributed across Europe for much of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, an altar dedicated to St Andrew could be found in the church of St Giles. It was the focus of a fraternity from at least 1464, the membership of which encompassed all burghesses of Scottish origin resident in the town.¹¹⁹ It was maintained by the Scottish 'brokers', the middlemen through whom all foreign trade was conducted, but had been abandoned by 1511 as the importance of Bruges to Scottish overseas trade declined.¹²⁰ Andrew was also displayed, although in a subordinate position to Ninian, on an ornate altarpiece belonging to Scottish merchants in the church of St Olai in Elsinore in Denmark.¹²¹ In the latter part of the fifteenth century international religious orders also began to use Andrew as a symbol of their Scottish divisions. The Dominicans depicted Andrew on the seal of their Vicar General in Scotland from the fifteenth century; the Franciscans placed the apostle alongside Francis on the seal of their provincial minister from 1482; and the Carmelite friars had Andrew on their common seal from 1492.¹²²

In the early fifteenth century, as Andrew became firmly established as the official patron of the kingdom, two Scottish writers produced new and subtly different visions of the kingdom's past.¹²³ The first of these was written in Middle Scots by Andrew of Wyntoun sometime between 1408 and 1424. Although Wyntoun, who was a canon and later prior of Lochleven in Fife, does not seem to have had access to Fordun, he did use some of the same source

119 Alexander Stevenson, "Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges", in *Freedom and Authority, Scotland 1050–1650*, eds. Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 98. Two other Scottish mercantile communities existed in sufficient numbers to warrant their own chapel. Scots in Dieppe in Normandy had a chapel in the church of St James. Surviving records only describe it as the chapel "de 'Ecosse". Michel Mollat, *Le Commerce Maritime Normand A La Fin Du Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1952), 157–159 & 171. There was also a Scots altar in the church of the Black Monks in Danzig by 1475 for which the dedication has not survived. Thomas A. Fischer, *Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (Edinburgh: O. Shultze and Co, 1903), 11.

120 Stevenson, "Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges", 99.

121 Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintances be Forgot. Scottish-Danish relations c.1450–1707* (Odense: University Press, 1988), i, 240–241; George Hay, "A Scottish Altar Piece in Copenhagen", *Innes Review* 7 (1956), 5–6.

122 Stevenson and Wood, eds. *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 205–208, 209 & 210.

123 The other full historical work from this period is the Chronicle of Pluscarden produced at the abbey of the same name in Moray. It lacks sufficient variation from the CGS/Bower framework to warrant independent discussion. Felix J. Skene, ed., *Liber Pluscardensis* (Edinburgh: W. Paterson, 1877–80). There are several other short or derivative chronicles from Scotland in this period which also had little to add to the above framework.

materials, possibly including Vairemont's thirteenth-century work.¹²⁴ Wyntoun therefore presents a rather different chronological framework to the *CGS*. Gone is the early flourishing of Christianity in the third century and the arrival of Andean relics in the fourth.¹²⁵ The earliest religious figure in the text is St Ninian, who was noted as being active at the end of the fourth century. However, Wyntoun was more interested in the career of his mentor, St Martin of Tours, and does not specify where Ninian preached or to what effect. Organised and orthodox Christianity was brought to Scotland by Palladius, sent to the kingdom in 423 AD by Pope Celestine to convert the Scots, on the same mission that saw Patrick sent to Ireland. In this way both the Scots and Irish were still shown to have received the faith a considerable time before their English counterparts.¹²⁶

According to Wyntoun, missionary work was continued by Columba who was responsible for the conversion of the Pictish king, Brude, in 530 AD. The conversion was continued by Serf, patron of the church of Lochleven, of whose career Wyntoun provides a predictably extensive discussion. This institutional partiality is evident in the manner in which Serf is shown to overshadow the achievements of his better known pupil Kentigern. Wyntoun deviated further from the *CGS* framework by including the adventures of two missionary groups. The first group were led by the semi-mythical Boniface/Curetán who, according to Wyntoun, baptised the Pictish king, Nechtan, and founded Rosemarkie, the diocesan centre of Ross, in around 600 AD.¹²⁷ In a later manuscript copy of the chronicle, Boniface was joined by two virgin martyrs, Triduana and Madeane.¹²⁸ The second missionary party was led to Scotland from Hungary by

124 Broun, *Scottish Independence*, 279.

125 In fact Wyntoun does not include the arrival of Andrew's relics at all. The translation of his bones from Patras to Constantinople and the intervention of the saint at the battle of Athelstaneford do feature.

126 *Chron. Wyntoun*, iii, 453, 461, iv, 11 & 171–173. Wyntoun includes the mission of St Augustine, sent to convert the Saxons by Pope Gregory, iv, 99–101. The gap between the Christianisation of Scotland and England is cut from the 500 years mentioned in 1301 and the four centuries of the *CGS*, to around 150 years.

127 Wyntoun does not specify a date but says the missionary party arrived during the papacy of Gregory I (590–604). For Boniface/Curetán see John Rendall, "St Boniface and the mission to the Northern Isles: a view from Papa Westray", *The Papar in the North Atlantic: Environment and History: the proceedings of a day conference held on 24th February 2001*, ed. Barbara E. Crawford (St Andrews: University of St Andrews, 2002), 31–37 and Aidan Macdonald, *Curadán, Boniface and the early church of Rosemarkie* (Rosemarkie: The Trust, 1992).

128 This section is added in the Auchinlek and Second Edinburgh manuscripts which the editor has dated to the early sixteenth century, *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, 123. It is unclear exactly

St Adrian during the reign of Constantine I (862–76). In Wyntoun's narrative Adrian, along with all but one of the group, was massacred by the Vikings on the Isle of May in the Forth. The surviving member of the company was Monan, who avoided the fate of the rest of the party by making a timely decision to preach in Fife.¹²⁹

Walter Bower completed his Latin epic, the *Scotichronicon*, a generation after Wyntoun. Bower was from East Lothian and wrote his chronicle in the 1440s, at the end of a long and successful career which had seen him hold the abbacy of Inchcolm for 32 years. While Bower was heavily reliant on Fordun, he presents a chronological account of the development of the Scottish church more akin to Wyntoun. He dispensed with the third-century arrival of Christianity and the fourth-century arrival of the Andean relics. Nevertheless, without explaining how the faith came to Scotland, Bower echoed CGs by emphasising that Palladius, sent to Scotland in 430 AD with his disciples Serf and Ternan, was arriving in an already Christianised kingdom.¹³⁰ A contemporary of these men was Ninian who, although he was not a key figure in the text, is described at greater length than in CGs and Wyntoun. Ninian is noted as a bishop who preached to the southern and northern Picts.¹³¹ Bower also included the Adrian legend noted by Wyntoun and referred to his disciple Monan.¹³²

The area in which Bower deviates from both the CGs and Wyntoun is his incorporation of Triduana into the St Andrews origin legend, rather than as part of a missionary party connected with Boniface.¹³³ For the first time a place was also found in the narrative for a northern saint, Duthac of Tain. Bower identified him as the mentor of a late eleventh-century bishop of St Andrews called Maelbrigde.¹³⁴ Kentigern also has a somewhat more prominent role than in the previous works with Bower incorporating the saint and his mother

who Madeane is supposed to be, possibly Mayoca a fairly obscure virgin saint who is recorded under 23 December in the Aberdeen Breviary, or Medan, a minor Gallovidian saint whose feast day was the 19 November. Alan Macquarrie, ed., *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 11–15 & 295–297.

129 *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, 75, 77–91, 123, 171 & 177–179, v, 31.

130 Palladius was bringing the “orthodox faith” to Scotland and with it church organisation, *Chron. Bower*, ii, 21–23.

131 *Ibid.*, ii, 25.

132 *Ibid.*, i, 15.

133 Bower's inclusion of Triduana in this party follows St Andrews' Legend B where she is one of three virgin martyrs who were part of Regulus missionary group, *ibid.*, i, 315, Taylor & Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3*, 579.

134 *Chron. Bower*, iii, 343.

Thanay (or Enoch) into a dialogue on the Arthurian legends and including a poem apparently written for him by Columba. The patron of Glasgow was accompanied by his disciples Convallus and Baldred of Tynninghame, the latter a saint who was patron of the area where Bower was born.¹³⁵ As we have seen, Bower clearly identified Andrew as the formal patron of the kingdom of the Scots. He presented the consecration of St Andrews in 1318 as a national event and included numerous references to the invocation of the apostle by Scots during the wars.¹³⁶ Margaret was presented as an ancillary patron, important primarily as the progenitor of the royal house, but also having a role as a defender of the realm.¹³⁷

The trio of Scottish patrons in the *Scotichronicon* was completed by Columba, whom Bower felt was the most active protector of the Scots during the wars with England. Columba, the patron of Bower's abbey of Inchcolm, was presented as a belligerent defender of church property and the hammer of the English.¹³⁸ Bower's depiction of the activities of St Columba was probably based upon materials found at Inchcolm. A musical piece known as the Inchcolm Antiphoner, dating from around a century before Bower wrote his chronicle, memorably described Columba as the "hope of the Scots".¹³⁹ The piece presented the saint as an active defender of their religious house against foreign incursion, who could be relied upon to "save our choir from the assaults of English men".¹⁴⁰ This image of Columba was elaborated in the *Scotichronicon*, where Bower included four miracle stories said to have occurred in the period 1317–85. The first story concerned the heroic bishop of Dunkeld, William Sinclair (1309–37), who, inspired by Columba, led the men of Fife and his own entourage against English invaders in 1317. Bower noted with relish the casualties amongst the invaders and how afterwards Sinclair was known as "our bishop" by Robert I.¹⁴¹ Three other stories described incidents in which Columba intervened to punish pirates and English soldiers who had violated

135 Bower was from Haddington, *Chron. Bower*, i, 15 & 315, ii, 21–23, 25, 65, 79, 83–87 & 277, iii, 343.

136 The patronage of St Andrew is a common theme in the *Scotichronicon*, with the apostle credited with earlier victories at Stainmore (1298) and Roslin (1302) in addition to Bannockburn (1314).

137 Margaret's role as patron of the Scots is emphasised by Bower's inclusion of the story from the miracle collection in which she interceded on their behalf at the battle of Largs in 1263. Bartlett, ed and trans. *Miracles*, 88–90.

138 *Chron. Bower*, v, 337–339, vi, 363–366, ix, 315–320 & 339–347.

139 Thomas O. Clancy, ed., *Triumph Tree. Scotland's Earliest Poetry, Ad 550–1350* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1998), 317–319.

140 *Ibid.*, 318.

141 *Chron. Bower*, vi, 383.

the lands of the saint at Inchcolm and elsewhere.¹⁴² Two other saints are presented as playing a prominent role during the wars. Serf, whose cult was also based in the diocese of St Andrews, was described miraculously defending his patrimony against the English in 1334.¹⁴³ Bower was also aware of the personal interest that Robert I had taken in St Fillan, noting the presence of his relics at Bannockburn and his invocation by Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany (d.1420) prior to conflict with the English in 1403.¹⁴⁴

The fifteenth-century chronicles of Wyntoun and Bower present an evolved and expanded vision of the history of the Scottish church. With questions over ecclesiastical sovereignty long settled, proving the arrival of Christianity in the kingdom several centuries before the conversion of England was no longer necessary. The Andrean relics could therefore safely be shown to arrive in the eighth century. These works also incorporated a broader range of local saints into their narrative of the development of the faith in Scotland, men who acted as protectors of the kingdom during the wars with England. These local saints included Monan, Fillan, Duthac and Triduana, saints whose main period of popularity belonged, as we will see, to the later middle ages. By including these saints, Wyntoun and Bower were reflecting contemporary devotional trends and, particularly in the case of Monan and Fillan, royal patronage and interest. In their choice of saints both men also displayed strong regional, diocesan and institutional partialities. Wyntoun's saints were concentrated in Lothian and Fife, whilst the additions to the *cgs*/Wyntoun framework made by Bower highlight similar loyalties. This is most apparent in his inclusion of Baldred alongside various saints from the diocese of St Andrews, and the significant role provided for his abbey's patron Columba in the Wars of Independence. This diocesan bias is particularly strong in the *Scotichronicon* with the integration of figures like Duthac and Triduana into the wider story of the foundation and development of the see of St Andrews. Prominent western and northern saints like Ninian, Kentigern and Duthac are conspicuous by their absence or watered down role in these St Andrews diocese-based histories.

142 The second story occurred in 1335 when an English ship raided the island of Inchcolm. Having removed all the valuables including a "famous image of St Columba", the ship was caught in storms and a whirlwind after which the terrified plunderers returned their spoils and were allowed to go on their way. The third anecdote occurred a year later when more English pirates came to the church of Dollar and stole various objects. On their return along the Forth the ship unaccountably sank close to Inchcolm and fear and awe of Columba spread among the English army. The final tale was set in 1385 and involved a large group of English soldiers landing on Inchcolm and setting fire to the abbey.

143 Surprisingly this story seems to have been unknown to Wyntoun who does not include it in his chronicle.

144 *Chron. Bower*, vi, 383, 361–363, vii, 99, 109, 119–121 & 399–403, viii, 55.

5 The Rise of Ninian and the New Histories of the Sixteenth Century

Ninian sat awkwardly in this patriotic narrative. His shrine was located in Galloway, a region traditionally of weak royal authority close to the English border, and whose bishops were suffragans of York until 1472.¹⁴⁵ He was a marginal figure within the historical framework presented in the *CGS*, Wyntoun and Bower, described merely as an early apostle of the southern Picts. This neglect is surprising as, from the late fourteenth century, foreign observers had come to identify the cult of St Ninian closely with the Scots. The English poet of the 1513 *Ballad of Flodden Field* considered Ninian to be one of the three Scottish patron saints, alongside Andrew and Duthac.¹⁴⁶ The reference to this particular trio by the English observer at Flodden may indicate that relics or banners associated with those saints were displayed at the battle. A generation later the French writer Francois Rabelais (1483–1553) would identify Scotsmen in France by their penchant for swearing by “Saint Treignen”.¹⁴⁷ Central to the growing international reputation of the saint was the popularity of his shrine at Whithorn. From the fourteenth century onward Whithorn attracted pilgrims from across the British Isles and continental Europe.¹⁴⁸ Although Ninian was known to Bede, consistent English references to the miraculous reputation of the saint and his shrine only begin to appear from the fourteenth century. It was first noted by Ranulf Higden, who commented in his *Polychronicon* (c.1326) that Ninian was known by the common people as “Ronyon”, and continued to draw the attention of English writers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁴⁹

145 Richard Oram, “Heirs to Ninian; the medieval bishops of Whithorn (c.1100–1560)”, in *The See of Ninian*, ed. Raymond McCluskey (Ayr: Diocese of Galloway, 1997), 49–81.

146 Weber, ed., *Battle of Flodden Field*, 27.

147 Trinian is a compound of ‘St’ and ‘Rinian’, the Scots Gaelic version of the saint’s name. It was a one of a number of different ways in which the name Ninian was rendered in the later middle ages. Donald M. Frame, trans, *Complete Works of Francois Rabelais* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 78.

148 Pilgrimage to Whithorn and the reasons for the popularity of the saint will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

149 The quote noted above is from the fifteenth century English translation, MS Harl 2261, Churchill Babington, ed., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis; together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the fifteenth century* (London: Longman Green Longman, 1865–1888), ii, 135 & 149. The shrine was last noted by Raphael Hollinshead, who in 1578 described Whithorn as the place where “lieth his (Ninian’s) carcase which is honoured by the people with great superstition and error”, Raphael Hollinshead, *The Scottish Chronicle: or, A complete history and description of Scotland* (Arbroath: J. Finlay, 1805), i, 5.

The connection that English and continental writers made between Ninian and Scotland may also have been prompted by the behaviour of Scots abroad. While the monks at Regensburg and students at Paris and Orleans chose Andrew as their patron, in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries traders in the Low Countries and the Baltic increasingly focused their attention on Ninian. In the same church in Bruges that housed the official altar of the Scottish community, there was an altar in the south aisle dedicated to Ninian. This altar belonged to Scottish residents in humbler occupations, being transferred in 1474 from the patronage of the labourers and tailors to the control of the corn porters and measurers.¹⁵⁰ Scottish visitors to Bruges worshipped in the Carmelite church which lay close to the Scottish district. From 1366, their focus for devotion was an aisle chapel in the south of the church dedicated to St Ninian. In the fifteenth century, the chapel and its priest were supported by a tax levied on wool exports from Aberdeen and Edinburgh.¹⁵¹ In Bergen Op Zoom in Brabant, Scottish merchants were patrons of an altar dedicated to “St Trynian” in the burgh church of St Ontcommeren from at least 1510.¹⁵² Scots participating in trade in the Baltic also established altars dedicated to Ninian. In the church of St Mary in Copenhagen the Scottish altar was upheld by the Brethren of St Ninian by c.1500.¹⁵³ In the church of St Olai in Elsinore, an altar was founded in his honour by the parents of an expatriate Scots couple Alexander Lyell and Ellen Davidson by 1511.¹⁵⁴

The dedication in Elsinore (modern-day Helsingør), which was home to the largest colony of Scots in the Baltic, was adorned with an ornate altarpiece in which Ninian was depicted surrounded by scenes from his miracle stories and flanked by Andrew, the official patron, and James the patron of the Stewart dynasty.¹⁵⁵ A combination of factors may have encouraged these mercantile

150 Stevenson, “Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges”, 98.

151 Payment for the altar’s upkeep is mentioned at Edinburgh in 1438 and 1494, James Marwick, ed., *Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1403–1528* (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1869–92), i, 5–6, 66–67 and in Aberdeen in 1444, Stevenson, “Medieval Scottish Associations with Bruges”, 100, it was confirmed by James II in 1450, *RMS*, ii, no. 392.

152 Alexander Stevenson, “Notice of an early Sixteenth century Scottish colony at Bergen Op Zoom and an altar there once dedicated to St Ninian”, *Innes Review*, 26 (1975), 50–53.

153 Riis, *Scottish-Danish relations*, i, 196–197.

154 *Ibid*, i, 240–241, Hay, “A Scottish Altar Piece in Copenhagen”, 5–6.

155 The local Scottish communities may also have been the catalyst behind the inclusion of Ninian’s feast in a liturgical calendar from Roskilde in Denmark dating from c.1500, John Toy, ed., *English Saints in the Medieval Liturgies of Scandinavian Churches* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2009), 194.

groups to dedicate their communal altars to Ninian. One of these was undoubtedly the broad popularity of his cult and shrine in Scotland, a popularity which, as we will see, reached its zenith in the later middle ages. A further factor in the choice of Ninian may have been his reputation for rescuing people from captivity which became a recognised part of the saint's repertoire from the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁶ Whilst the merchants may have had this more specific motive for choosing Ninian, it is clear that the saint, either alongside or separate from the official patron Andrew, was considered by these groups to represent their communal identity. While Andrew was sufficient to distinguish the Scots from the Irish monks in Bavaria, the trading communities in Flanders and Denmark required a more distinct patron than the apostle.¹⁵⁷ This may have become a more pressing issue with the adoption of St Andrew as the patron of the lands of the Dukes of Burgundy in the early fifteenth century.

The emergence of Ninian as an informal or popular patron of the Scottish kingdom in the later middle ages has been noted by Thomas Clancy and John Higgitt.¹⁵⁸ They traced his patronal role to the depiction of the saint in an abridged version of the *Vita Niniani* found in the *Legends of the Saints*, a compilation of saints' lives from c.1400 translated from Latin into Middle Scots.¹⁵⁹ It has been suggested that the five miracle stories included in the legendary, two of which involve the saint intervening to save Scots from English invaders, portray Ninian acting as a "heroic national saint".¹⁶⁰ However, the men saved by Ninian were from the hinterland of the shrine in Galloway and Annandale.¹⁶¹ These stories could equally be interpreted as a local saint protecting his patrimony. The earliest unambiguous reference to Ninian as a patron of the Scottish kingdom features in Wyntoun. His unique account of a 1302 skirmish at Roslin

156 This trait will be discussed in Chapter 3.

157 Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 247.

158 Clancy, "Scottish Saints and National Identities", 404; John Higgitt, "From Bede to Rabelais: Or how St Ninian got his chains", in *New Offerings Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, eds. Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud: Sutton 2001), 202.

159 The *Legends* contains a translation into the Scots vernacular of Aelred of Rievaulx's 12th century Latin *Vita Niniani*, to which five miracle stories from the second part of the Wars of Independence (c.1332–46) have been added. Metcalfe, ed., *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 327–42; Clancy, "Scottish Saints and National Identities", 404; Higgitt, "From Bede to Rabelais", 194–195.

160 Clancy, "Scottish Saints and National Identities", 404.

161 In the first miracle Ninian saved Fergus MacDowell, a nobleman with lands in Kirkcudbright and Dumfries who was rewarded in 1357 for his support of the Bruce party after David II's return to Scotland, from an English ambush, *RMS*, i, nos. 835 & 1007. In the second miracle an unnamed Gallovidian who had been captured by an English raiding party was saved by the saint. Metcalfe, eds. *Legends of the Saint*, ii, 327–329 & 335–342.

included a pre-battle ritual in which Simon Fraser, the leader of the Scottish forces, appealed for aid to “Sancte Andrew, Sanct Nynyare, and Sanct Mergret”.¹⁶² The inclusion of Ninian alongside the patron saints of the Scottish church and royal dynasty seems to represent the identification of the saint as a national figure rather than merely a saint of Galloway by the early fifteenth century.¹⁶³

The development of Ninian into an informal national patron had a major impact on two further versions of the history of Scotland produced in the early sixteenth century. In 1521, the great theologian John Maior (1469–c.1550) compiled his *Historia Maioris Britanniae*.¹⁶⁴ Writing at a century remove from the earlier chronicles, Maior dismissed much of the legendary history of Scotland as nonsense, and presented a condensed vision of the progress of faith in the kingdom.¹⁶⁵ Maior followed the CGS framework, noting the arrival of the relics of St Andrew in the fourth century in the care of St Regulus. The early arrival of the relics meant that Palladius arrived from Rome in 429 AD to find the Scots already Christianised, requiring only orthodox teaching. Palladius then sent Serf north to convert the Orcadians. Maior’s first digression from this familiar narrative was an extended discussion of the career of Ninian, whom he identified as a Briton and contemporary of Palladius. For the first time in the chronicle tradition Ninian was accorded a significant role in the narrative, described as an apostle of the “Picts and Britons”. Maior had been to Whithorn, presumably on pilgrimage, and included a miracle said to have been performed by the saint during the reign of David II.¹⁶⁶ Following Palladius and Ninian, the consolidation of the faith in Scotland was continued by the duo of Columba and Kentigern. The Glasgow saint is only referred to briefly, primarily as the mentor of St Baldred. Maior included an extended account of the miraculous survival of three different bodies of Baldred in the churches of

162 *Chron. Wyntoun*, 461. The chronicles of Fordun and Bower which also record the battle make no reference to this invocation.

163 Higgitt, “From Bede to Rabelais”, 203.

164 There are various spellings of John’s surname, but for clarity Maior will be used throughout this work. *Chron. Maior* xxix. For a discussion of the background to the chronicle and Maior’s career, Roger A. Mason, “Scotching the Brut; Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-century Britain”, in *Scotland and England – 1286–1815*, ed. Roger A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), 64–65 and Alexander Broadie, *The Shadow of Scotus. Philosophy and Faith in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), 1–6.

165 Mason, “Scotching the Brut”, 66.

166 Maior showed that he had been to Whithorn by describing the Isle of Man as “fifteen leagues in length which we have ourselves caught sight of at St Ninian’s”. This miracle story, which also featured in Boece, involved a visit by David II to the shrine after his return to Scotland in 1357. *Chron. Boece*, ii, 328. Interestingly this miracle had also featured in the *Scotichronicon*. However, in Bower’s account the miracle was attributed to St Monan, *Chron. Bower*, vii, 261, 464n. There is no mention of the legend in Wyntoun.

Aldhame, Tynninghame and Preston, each of which lay close to his East Lothian home.¹⁶⁷ Maior also found space for another emerging Scottish cult in his work. In an otherwise unattested anecdote, Maior recounted the presence of the miraculous shirt of St Duthac at the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333.¹⁶⁸

The final pre-Reformation history of Scotland was written in 1527 by Aberdeen canon Hector Boece (c.1465–1536), and translated into Middle Scots by John Bellenden in 1531. It was in Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* that the Scottish historical narrative reached its most extended and elaborate form. Boece's account of Scottish ecclesiastical history, like his account of the kingdom's secular past, was based on the *CGs* and Bower. However, he provided a more distinctive account with greater detail on the careers of local saints than his predecessors had done. Boece followed the chronology of the *CGs* with the arrival of the faith in Scotland in 203 AD, and of Andrew's relics in the late fourth century. He diverged from this framework by elaborating on Maior by describing Ninian as the earliest apostle of the kingdom who preached not only to the Britons, but also to the Picts and the Scots. Boece later noted that daily miracles were still occurring at the shrine of the holy bishop, whom he considered to be the most active miracle worker in "Albion".

Ninian's contribution is followed by the traditional narrative framework with the arrival of Palladius and his disciples Serf and Ternan, sent to Scotland to combat the Pelagian heresy and establish orthodox teaching. However, Boece provided further details including a reference to an attempt by William Scheves, archbishop of St Andrews (1476–97), to revive the cult of Palladius at Fordoun in the late fifteenth century with a relic translation, descriptions of Serf's missionary activity in Orkney, and of Ternan's role as a bishop of the Picts. The Columba and Kentigern legends are also presented at length, with Boece, like Bower, placing the Glasgow saint in an Arthurian context.¹⁶⁹ Boece deviated further from the *CGs* framework by including, uniquely in the chronicle tradition, references to a series of minor north-eastern saints.¹⁷⁰ Boece's familiarity with the saints of the north was further indicated by his references to the careers of Gilbert of Caithness and Duthac. In Boece, as in Wyntoun and Bower a century earlier,

167 Maior was born at Gleghornie, near North Berwick and was clearly familiar with the legends associated with his local saint. Maior discusses the miracle surrounding the three bodies of Baldred at relative length compared to the brevity with which he discusses other saints.

168 *Chron. Maior*, 37, 63, 65–67, 86–88, 108, 273 & 293.

169 The relationship between Kentigern's mother, Thanay, and King Loth is included in the work. An altar jointly dedicated to Kentigern and Thanay had been founded in Boece's cathedral church at Aberdeen in 1502, Cosmo Innes, eds., *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1845), ii, 64.

170 These were Machar, Devenick, Congan and Drostán.

contemporary trends in devotional practice were married to the framework first introduced in the thirteenth century, to produce the definitive pre-reformation account of the history of Christianity in Scotland.¹⁷¹

6 Andrew, Ninian and the Historical Tradition

As Scottish society evolved in the later middle ages to cope with the challenges of war, famine and pestilence, so did its patron saints. The most enduring of these changes was the emergence, from a cluster of other potential candidates, of the apostle Andrew as the official patron saint of the kingdom. The development of Andrew into the official patron was a gradual process forged in the battles over the ecclesiastical and political independence of the kingdom of Scotland, and by the search for legitimacy by its fledgling Bruce and Stewart dynasties. It would not have taken place without the prestige and financial clout that possession of the relics gave to the religious institutions at St Andrews, groups that played a key role in the promotion of the merits of their saint in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, Andrew was supplemented by Ninian who emerged as a rival popular or unofficial patron saint. This unusual situation stemmed from Ninian's broad popularity, his reputation for performing miracles and the need for a more distinctive patron for groups of Scots living abroad.

For Andrew, and later Ninian, to succeed to this position the other candidates had to fail, and the period saw a concomitant decline in the symbolic role of saints like Columba, Kentigern and Margaret, who had a claim to representing the kingdom in the early and central middle ages. These saints did, however, continue to play an important role within the Scottish historical tradition. Like other polities across Europe in this period, the development of a viable origin legend and history of the kingdom of the Scots played an important role in the consolidation of power by the royal house and in the growth of a national church. The need for such a legend was given greater intensity by rival English claims to sovereignty over of the Scottish church and kingdom. What was interesting in the Scottish tradition was the manner in which the religious element of the narrative evolved between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries to embrace new devotional fashions, such as the changing status of Ninian or the growing popularity of previously localised cults like those of Duthac, Monan and Fillan. The careers of this ever-evolving group of saints were used to map out the past, making a clear and unequivocal statement about the longstanding sovereignty of the kingdom of the Scots and of its independent ecclesiastical institutions.

171 *Chron. Boece*, i, 213, 249–250, 271 299, 300, 382, 412 & 419, ii, 229.

Protection and Salvation: Devotion to the Saints

Sum to sanct Roche, with diligence,
To saif thame from the pestilence;
For thare teith, to sanct Apollene.¹

These lines come from Book II of David Lindsay's poem *the Monarchie*, written in around 1554. In *the Monarchie*, the renowned court poet expressed his deep concern with the proliferation of statues, paintings and murals depicting the saints in Scotland's churches. For Lindsay, and for Catholic and Protestant reformers in the same period, the line between the use of such images as a learning tool for the illiterate laity, and their idolatrous veneration, was coming to be increasingly blurred. He also blamed the clergy for encouraging "com-moun" Scots to make connections between saints and the cure of particular diseases or misfortunes. For the plague, St Roch was your man; for dental problems, St Appollonia. Problems with your livestock? Invoke St Anthony to "saif the sow" and Brigit for "calf and koow".² The twenty-seven saints chosen by Lindsay to illustrate his point were clearly intended to be familiar to his sixteenth-century audience.³ There is a certain irony therefore in the fact that Lindsay's poem, intended to critique popular religion, provides the modern audience with a strong indication of the holy men and women that were best loved by his fellow Scots. In addition to works of literature like Lindsay's poem, a range of surviving sources allow us to identify with some accuracy the various saints that late medieval Scots, both clerical and lay, considered to be the finest exemplars of the ideal Christian life, best able to aid them in adversity and the most effective to intercede on their behalf after death. The feast days of these saints were marked in the calendars of books of hours and psalters, pilgrims flocked to their shrines, individuals and corporate groups founded altars and chapels in their honour, and parents used their names for their children.

1 David Laing, ed., *Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount* (Edinburgh: W. Paterson, 1879), iii, 29–30.

2 *Ibid.*, iii, 29.

3 In addition to the Holy Blood, Holy Rude and Mary the saints referenced in the poem were Peter, Paul, John, James, Michael, Katherine, Giles, Francis, Apollonia, Roch, Eloï, George, Anthony, Bridget, Cosmo and Damian, Crispina and Crispinian, Zita of Lucca, German, Barbara, Gabriel, Margaret of Antioch, and Bastian, *ibid.*, iii, 27–30.

1 Fasts and Feasts. Scottish Calendars and the Aberdeen Breviary

The Christian calendar with its major and minor fasts, feasts and holy days was the framework around which the men and women of medieval Scotland organised their lives.⁴ The major feasts of the church, Easter, Christmas, Whitsun, Martinmass and Candlemass dictated the patterns of work and rest, and served as the dates on which wages, debts and rents were paid. In parish churches, cathedrals and religious communities, feast days were marked by the reading aloud of the lives of saints who were believed to have died on that day. Two authorised calendars or ‘uses’, known as Roman and Sarum, were most commonly found in Scotland.⁵ These ‘uses’ were a framework to which local religious institutions or individuals added their own choice of saints and feasts. In addition to regional and local variation, the range of feasts that were marked in the calendars also changed over time, reflecting new fashions in devotion and the promotional initiatives of religious institutions and individual clerics. These calendars therefore provide an interesting guide to changes in fashion amongst local church institutions and the educated elite, the other group in Scotland who commissioned private psalters and books of hours. A combination of the destructive energies of the reformation and the ravages of time mean that only thirty-seven complete or fragmentary calendars within books of hours, breviaries and psalters have survived from the many thousands which must have existed in medieval Scotland.⁶

The eleven calendars that have survived from Scotland prior to the fifteenth century were mainly imported English books with a Roman or Sarum calendar (Table 1. no. 1–11).⁷ Typically these early psalters, breviaries and books of hours only marked the feasts of, at most, three or four distinctly local saints. The decision to mark a particular feast was often dictated by location or institutional affiliation. The Iona Psalter (2), for example, marked the feasts of two former abbots, Columba and Adomnan. The Coldingham Breviary (3) included

4 Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy of medieval England – A History* (Cambridge: University Press, 2009), 445–509.

5 David McRoberts, “The medieval Scottish Liturgy, illustrated by surviving documents”, *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 15 (1957), 24–40.

6 This list, included below in Table 1 and Table 2, is based upon a survey carried out by John Higgitt for his book on the Murthly Hours; NLS. Research papers of John Higgitt, Acc 12978/2, and those liturgical books noted by Stephen Holmes that feature a calendar. Stephen Holmes, “Catalogue of liturgical books and fragments in Scotland before 1560”, *Innes Review* 62.2 (2011), 127–212.

7 McRoberts, “The medieval Scottish Liturgy”, 27.

TABLE 1 *Scottish calendars from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*

Name/Location	Date	Religious (R) or lay owned (L)	Scottish saints in calendar	Other references to Scottish saints, collects images etc.
1. Blantyre psalter. East Lothian? ⁸	c.1200	R	Andrew, Baldred, Ninian	–
2. Iona psalter. ⁹	c.1210	R	Adomnán, Columba, Fillan	–
3. Coldingham Breviary. ¹⁰	c.1290	R	Ebbe, Margaret	–
4. Calendar of Herdmanston, East Lothian. ¹¹	c.1300	L	Andrew, Boniface/Curetán, Duthac, Margaret, Monan	–
5. Murthly Hours, Argyll. ¹²	c.1300, 15th cent additions	L	–	Suffrages; Boniface/Curetán, Duthac
6. Abbey of Culross, Fife. ¹³	c.1305	R	Fillan, Fyndoca, Margaret, Ninian, Serf	–
7. Abbey of Holyrood (Incomplete) ¹⁴	13th century	R	Ninian, Serf	–

8 Boyle suggests that the calendar was made in Scotland and was connected to the earls of Dunbar: Alexander Boyle, "A Scottish Augustinian Psalter", *Innes Review* 8 (1957), 77.

9 Iona Psalter, NLS, MS 10000, discussed in John Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours. Devotion, Liturgy and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West* (London: British Library, 2000), 26–27.

10 Coldingham, BL, Harley MS 4664, fols. 126–131.

11 Alexander P. Forbes, ed., *Kalenders of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas, 1872), 35–49.

12 Fifteenth-century additions to the calendar included the suffrages of Boniface and Duthac, Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours*, Appendix 3, 27.

13 Forbes, ed., *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, 50–64. Findoc is probably the saint to whom a chapel was dedicated in Inishail (Argyll), but is otherwise unattested.

14 Only the calendar for July–October remains. Francis Wormald, "A Fragment of a thirteenth century calendar from Holyrood Abbey", *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 69 (1935), 471–80.

TABLE 1 *Scottish calendars from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (cont.)*

Name/Location	Date	Religious (R) or lay owned (L)	Scottish saints in calendar	Other references to Scottish saints, collects images etc.
8. Taymouth Hours. ¹⁵	c.1300	L	–	–
9. Breviary, Aberdeen? ¹⁶	c.1300 and 15th cent additions	R	15th century additions; Adrian, Andrew, Baldred, Boniface, Columba, Constantine, Duthac, Kessog, Monan, Ninian, Machar, Regulus	Collect of Kentigern
10. Sprouston Breviary, Lothian. ¹⁷	c.1305 with later 15th cent additions	L	15th century additions; Baldred, Magnus, <i>Duthac, Kessog, Ninian</i>	–
11. Dominican Calendar, Perth? ¹⁸	Late 14th	R	Kentigern, Margaret	–

15 The document had a Scottish owner, Henry Yates Thompson, ed., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of fifty manuscripts – no-51–100 in the collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), 50–74.

16 The double feast of Machar, the patron of Aberdeen cathedral, has led to the identification of the document with that town, EUL, MS 27.

17 The Sprouston Breviary has some additions in a later hand. Other than Baldred and Magnus the additions are difficult to make out, but as they occurred on the days associated with Ninian, Duthac and Kessog (and the words are similar length) it was probably these saints that were intended, NLS, Adv MS 18.2.13B, fols. 157–8.

18 Some Scottish obits that feature in the calendar suggest a Perth origin. John Higgitt, NLS, Acc 12978/6.

a local holy woman, Aebbe, whose relics were found in the church, while the Blantyre Psalter (1) from East Lothian marked the feast of a local saint, Baldred of Tynninghame. The only Scottish saints to appear regularly within these early calendars were Margaret and Ninian. This situation began to change in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the marking of a much greater number and range of local feasts in the surviving calendars that belonged to Scottish religious houses (Table 2: 12–14, 16, 19–20 & 32–34). The calendars of these liturgical books featured, on average, three times as many local feasts as the sample from the earlier period. The most common Scottish saints to appear were a group of ten, headed by Ninian and the patrons of Scotland's major cathedrals, Andrew, Columba and Kentigern, alongside 'newer' figures whose shrines were located at smaller churches, Duthac, Fillan, Monan, Kessog, Constantine and Baldred.

A similar trend can be seen in the surviving liturgical calendars that belonged to individual Scots (Table 2: no. 15, 17–18, 21–30 & 35–36). Psalters and books of hours like those from Perth (17) and Yester (18), as well as a small group produced abroad for Scottish patrons (23, 26 & 27), also marked the feast days of a greater number and range of local saints than the limited sample from the earlier period. The broadest range of these feast days can be seen in the private books of hours belonging to two clerics, Crawford of Edinburgh (23) and Brown of Aberdeen (24). These contained twenty-seven and twenty-one local saints respectively. These were not typical, with the average number marked in other books owned by the laity – such as the Yester, Farmor and Playfair hours (18, 21 & 27) – being around eight to ten. Although the average number of local feasts observed in the calendars belonging to religious houses was higher, there seems to have been no significant divergence in the type of saint venerated by church institutions and the individual clerics and members of the secular elite who owned the surviving books of hours.

This trend toward marking the feasts of a greater number and range of local saints in Scottish calendars has been seen to culminate in the Aberdeen Breviary project.¹⁹ The project, supported by James IV, was masterminded by William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen (1483–1514).²⁰ The aim of the project was to create a new breviary to form the basis of a Scottish 'use', gathering into one convenient edition the legends of local saints that were otherwise

19 McRoberts, "The Scottish Church and Nationalism", 4–8; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 234.

20 Legends of "Scottis sanctis" were among the types of books that James ordered to be the priority of Scotland's first printing press, the patent for which he issued to Chepman and Miller in 1507, *RSS*, i, no. 1546.

TABLE 2 *Scottish calendars from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*

Name/Location	Date	Religious (R) or lay owned (L)	Scottish saints in calendar	Other references to Scottish saints, collects images etc.
12. Corstorphine, Edinburgh, (incomplete). ²¹	c.1429	R	Andrew, Blane, Columba, Gilbert	—
13. Holyrood Ordinale, Edinburgh. ²²	c.1450	R	Andrew, Baldred, Columba, Constantine, Cuthbert, Duthac, Kentigern, Kessog, Monan, Ninian, Serf	In the litany; Andrew, Columba, Constantine, Duthac, Kentigern, Modan Ninian
14. Fowlis Easter Breviary, Angus. ²³	c.1450	R	Andrew, Adrian, Baldred, Bean, Columba, Constantine, Cuthbert, Duthac, Fillan, Gilbert, Kentigern, Kessog, Magnus Machar, Margaret, Marnan, Monan, Ninian, Palladius, Serf, Triduana	—
15. Dunfermline Psalter (incomplete). ²⁴	c.1450	L	Kentigern, Margaret, Ninian	—
16. Abbey of Ferne, Ross. ²⁵	c.1471	R	Columba, Comgan, Donnan Duthac, Gilbert, Moluag, Monan, Ninian	—

21 Henry Hargreaves, "Another Scottish medieval Liturgical fragment", *Innes Review* 31 (1980), 51–7.

22 Francis C. Eeles, ed. *The Holyrood Ordinale* (Edinburgh: T & A Constable, 1916), 6–18 & 48–55.

23 William D. Macray, ed., *Breviarium Bothanum, sive portiforium secundum usum ecclesiae cujusdam in Scotia* (London: Longmans, 1900), 299–310.

24 Only the calendar for January–February and September–December survives. John Durkan, "Three manuscripts with Fife associations", *Innes Review* 20 (1969), 47.

25 Robin J. Adam, ed. *The Calendar of Ferne. Texts and Additions, 1471–1667* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1991), 51–6.

Name/Location	Date	Religious (R) or lay owned (L)	Scottish saints in calendar	Other references to Scottish saints, collects images etc.
17. Perth psalter. ²⁶	c.1475 and 16th cent	L	Adrian, Baldred, Bean, Columba, Constantine, Duthac, Fillan, Gilbert Kentigern, Kessog, Margaret, Monan, Ninian Serf, Triduana 16th century additions; Andrew, Blane, Colman, Drostán, Kentigerna, Modan, Modoc, Regulus	–
18. Yester Book of Hours, Borders. ²⁷	c.1480	L	Baldred, Constantine, Cuthbert, Fillan, Kentigern, Ninian	Collects; Duthac, Monan. Memoriae; Bean, Drostán Kentigern, Monan, Palladius, Regulus, Serf
19. Coupar Angus. ²⁸	c.1482	R	Adomnán, Duthac, Medan	–
20. Rossdhu Hours, Lennox. ²⁹	c.1490	R	Adrian, Baldred, Kessog, Ninian	–
21. The Farmor Hours, Aberdeen? ³⁰	1480x90	L	Adrian, Baldred, Constantine, Fillan, Kentigern, Monan, Ninian	–

26 NLS, MS 652, Francis C. Eeles, "The Perth Psalter", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 66 (1932), 426–41.

27 The book seems to have been produced in France for a Scottish patron around 1480. Montague. R. James, ed., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys, Part II, Medieval Manuscripts* (Cambridge: University Press, 1923), 14–17.

28 Catherine R. Borland, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: Constable and Co, 1916), 201–4.

29 This was a Sarum book adopted for use in the west of Scotland. George Hay and David McRoberts, "Rossdhu Church and its Book of Hours", *Innes Review* 16 (1965), 15.

30 John Higgitt, NLS Acc 12978/6, also mentioned by Dell who suggested an Aberdonian provenance for the book: Richard F. Dell, "Some fragments of medieval mss in Glasgow City Archives", *Innes Review* 18 (1967), 112.

TABLE 2 *Scottish calendars from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cont.)*

Name/Location	Date	Religious (R) or lay owned (L)	Scottish saints in calendar	Other references to Scottish saints, collects images etc.
22. Glenorchy psalter. ³¹	c.1490	L	Adomnán, Adrian, Andrew, Baldred, Bean, Blane, Boniface, Constantine, Columba, Drostán, Duthac, Fergus, Gilbert, Kentigern, Kessog, Machar, Maelrubha, Magnus, Margaret, Marnoc, Modan, Moluag, Monan, Ninian, Regulus, Serf, Triduana	
23. Crawford Breviary, Edinburgh. ³²	1496	L	Adomnán, Adrian, Andrew, Baldred, Bean, Boniface/Curetán, Brendan, Columba, Donnan, Duthac, Ebbe, Fergus, Fillan, Gilbert, Kentigern, Kessog, Machar, Maelrubha, Magnus, Margaret, Modan, Monan, Ninian, Palladius, Regulus, Serf, Triduana	—

31 This psalter is inscribed to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy (d.1523), BL, Egerton MS 2899, fols. 1–7.

32 This breviary was produced in Rouen in 1496 and belonged to a canon of St Giles, Edinburgh called John Crawford. He made personal additions to the calendar in the same pen that records his ownership of the book. EUL, Crawford Breviary MS Inc.223 (Dd. 1. 24).

Name/Location	Date	Religious (R) or lay owned (L)	Scottish saints in calendar	Other references to Scottish saints, collects images etc.
24. Dean Brown's Book of Hours, Forfar/Mearns. ³³	1498	L	Andrew, Baldred, Bean, Blane, Boniface/ Curetán, Brendan, Columba, Constantine, Cuthbert, Duthac, Fillan, Gilbert, Kessog, Margaret, Monan, Ninian, Palladius, Serf, Triduana, Vigean	–
25. Book of Hours, Scottish, EUL MS 42. ³⁴	c.1500	L	–	Hours of Ninian and image
26. Sarum Book of Hours, France for Scottish owners. ³⁵	c.1500	L	Adrian, Baldred, Fillan, Kentigern, Ninian	Memoriae of Ninian
27. Playfair Hours, France for Scottish owners. ³⁶	c.1500	L	Adrian, Baldred, Constantine, Fillan, Kentigern, Kessog, Monan, Ninian	–
28. Elizabeth Danielson Book of Hours. ³⁷	c.1500	L	–	Memoriae and miniature Margaret. Hours and image of Ninian

33 David McRoberts, "Dean Brown's Book of Hours", *Innes Review* 19 (1968), 144–67. The Dean, who was a relative of George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld, was in Flanders in that year and probably purchased it there.

34 The Ninian hours and image are the only local additions to this book, EUL, MS 42. fol. 72

35 EUL MS 43, fols. 1–12.

36 Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours. A Late fifteenth century illustrated manuscript from Rouen* (London: V & A Museum, 1984), 43.

37 BL, Add MS 39761, fols. 94 & 97.

TABLE 2 *Scottish calendars from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cont.)*

Name/Location	Date	Religious (R) or lay owned (L)	Scottish saints in calendar	Other references to Scottish saints, collects images etc.
29. Minnesota Hours, France for Scottish owners. ³⁸	c.1500	L	Adrian, Constantine, Magnus, Ninian	–
30. Aberdeen Epistolary. ³⁹	c.1500	L	Baldred, Columba, Gilbert, Kentigern, Machan, Magnus, Margaret, Ninian	–
31. Sarum Missal (incomplete). ⁴⁰	c.1500	L	Baldred, Boniface Constantine, Duthac, Kessog	–
32. Martyrology of Aberdeen. ⁴¹	c.1500	R	75 Scottish saints, similar to Aberdeen Breviary	–
33. Arbuthnott missal, Aberdeenshire. ⁴²	c.1506	R	Adrian, Baldred, Columba, Constantine, Drostán, Duthac, Kessog, Gilbert, Maelrubha, Margaret, Marnoc, Moluag, Monan, Ninian, Palladius, Regulus, Ternan, Triduana	–

38 M. Alison Stones, *Medieval Illumination in Minnesota Collections* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota, 1978), 94.
39 John Higgitt, NLS Acc 12978/6.
40 Only two leaves of this missal survive for January–March, NRS, RH12/28.
41 Forbes, ed. *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, 125–37. There are seventy-five saints with Scottish connections in the Martyrology.
42 Forbes, ed. *Liber ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott*, ciii–cxiv.

Name/Location	Date	Religious (R) or lay owned (L)	Scottish saints in calendar	Other references to Scottish saints, collects images etc.
34. St Nicholas Missal, Aberdeen. ⁴³	1506	R	Adomnán, Adrian, Andrew, Baldred, Bean, Blane, Columba, Constantine, Donnan, Drostán, Duthac, Ebbe, Fergus, Fillan, Gilbert, Kentigern, Kentigerna, Kessog, Machar, Maelrubha, Magnus, Margaret, Mirin, Monan, Nathalan/ Nechtán, Ninian, Palladius, Regulus, Serf, Ternan, Triduana	
35. Andrew Lundy's Primer (incomplete). ⁴⁴	c.1530	L	Modan	Suffrage and miniature of Ninian
36. Reid psalter. ⁴⁵	c.1590	L	Baldred, Duthac, Fillan, Kentigern, Margaret, Monan, Ninian	–

scattered in diffuse sources.⁴⁶ In order to accommodate the eighty-one saints that the bishop and his team considered to be “Scottis”, the new breviary, published in Edinburgh in 1510, removed the feasts of a number of English saints. It is clear from the prologue, and to some extent from the structure of

43 Francis C. Eeles, “Notes on a missal formerly used in S. Nicholas, Aberdeen”, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 33 (1899), 440–441.

44 Only the calendar for June–December is extant, William J. Anderson, “Andrew Lundy's Primer,” *Innes Review* 11 (1960), 42–3.

45 London V&A, Reid MS 54, fols. 1–6.

46 Macquarrie, ed., *Legends of Scottish Saints*, xv–xvi. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 231–46.

the new book, that Elphinstone never envisaged Scottish churches marking the feasts of all the local saints that he and his team had shoehorned into the breviary. It was noted for example that the feast of St Machar was only expected to be treated as a major feast in the diocese of Aberdeen.⁴⁷ The breviary was probably intended to function as a resource for local churches and clerics to encourage their congregations to take an interest in what Elphinstone and his team considered to be local and national saints. The project was therefore an attempt by Elphinstone and James IV to direct the apparently growing interest in local cults, evident from surviving calendars from the fifteenth century, toward a range of saints that they identified as Scottish.⁴⁸

Why then, if the breviary reflected prevailing fashions, did the Aberdeen project ultimately fail? The breviary never came into widespread use and Sarum and Roman books were still in common usage until the reformation. The failure has been attributed to the unworkable nature of the new breviary, the lack of a revised second edition, and the deaths in quick succession of the driving forces behind the project, James IV in 1513 and Elphinstone in 1514.⁴⁹ However, the failure of the national breviary also suggests that the systematic approach employed by Elphinstone and his team did not reflect fully the devotional trends of the period. It was only in two surviving corporate calendars from Aberdeen, the Martyrology (32) and St Nicholas missal (34), and in the two private books of hours belonging to Crawford (23) and Brown (24), that we see anything like the vast range of local feasts that would be included in Elphinstone's breviary.⁵⁰ Typically, church and private calendars, like those from Fowlis Easter (14), Ferne (16) and the Farmor and Playfair hours (21 & 27), included the feasts of some very local holy men, some regional patrons and a small selection of saints like Ninian and Duthac who had cults on a national scale. On the whole it was these diocesan, local and institutional loyalties that outweighed interest in the "Scottis Sanctis" as a group. The failure of the project is further evidence that the liturgy, like the cult of

47 Macquarrie, ed., *Legends of Scottish Saints*, xxvii.

48 Macfarlane, McRoberts and Galbraith emphasise the patriotic, and to some extent anglophobic, nature of the project, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 234; McRoberts, "The Scottish Church and Nationalism", 4–8; Galbraith, "The Middle Ages", 24–26.

49 McRoberts blamed Flodden and the death of Elphinstone in 1514 for the failure of the project, McRoberts, "The medieval Scottish Liturgy", 36–38. Macfarlane and Galbraith added the unworkable nature of the new breviary and a waning of enthusiasm amongst the church hierarchy under James V for the lack of a new and better edition, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 245–46, Galbraith, "The Middle Ages", 28.

50 There were seventy-five Scottish feasts in the Martyrology and thirty-two in the Missal.

the saints in general, was a fluid phenomenon, which, whilst under the nominal control of the church authorities, was dependant for its success upon popular acceptance.⁵¹

2 Seeking the Miraculous. Pilgrimage in Late Medieval Scotland

The liturgical calendars provide the first hint of a divergence in religious practice between the clerical elite and Scottish laity. Those calendars that belonged to clerics and religious institutions showed a more marked interest in local saints than those owned by lay Scots. This divergence is more apparent within the trends in pilgrimage to the shrines of saints and their relics. Travelling to sacred places is an activity common to a number of religions, and a variety of motivations compel individuals to visit a shrine of a saint or other holy place. Although the influence of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* has popularised the idea that from the fourteenth century this activity was more about sightseeing than devotion, there is little evidence to suggest that the motivations of late medieval pilgrims was substantially different from their predecessors.⁵² These motivations could include a search for healing, penance for committing a crime, devotion to a particular saint or the attraction of a papal indulgence.⁵³ Throughout the later middle ages Scots travelled abroad seeking the sacred and the miraculous, visiting the Holy Land, Rome and Santiago de Compostela, as well as a host of smaller shrines in the British Isles, Europe and the Middle East.⁵⁴ The most common pilgrimages however, were much less grand in scope and involved visits to local shrines and sacred sites. Scotland, like other regions located on the geographical peripheries of Europe, had its own domestic pilgrimage network.⁵⁵ The shrines that made up this network changed over time as individual saints moved in and out of fashion.

A sense of the most prestigious Scottish pilgrimage centres in the late thirteenth century can be taken from those shrines patronised by Edward I and Edward II (1307–28) when they occupied parts of the kingdom during the Anglo-Scottish wars. The relics of Margaret at Dunfermline, Kentigern at Glasgow, the apostle at St Andrews and Ninian at Whithorn, received visits from

51 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 14 & 45.

52 Diana Webb, "Pardons and Pilgrims", in *Promissory Notes on the treasury of merits: indulgences in late medieval Europe*, ed. Robert N. Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 269–70.

53 Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 49–71.

54 Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 61–65, Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, 110–120.

55 Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 118–121.

English monarchs in the period 1297–1304.⁵⁶ Following the wars, pilgrimages by Scottish royals provides one indicator of the popularity of the myriad of domestic shrines. Scottish kings and their queens are noted at the shrines of Ninian, Monan, and Andrew in the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the shrines of Ninian, Kentigern, Andrew, Adrian and Duthac received royal visitors.⁵⁸ Such royal visits could be either a reaction to the established reputation of a saint or provide the catalyst for the success of a previously little-known shrine. Royal pilgrimage therefore fails to give us an accurate record of the dynamics of domestic pilgrimage in late medieval Scotland.

A better indication of these patterns in the later middle ages can be obtained by cross-referencing literary references to popular pilgrimage centres with the supplications to the papacy for the right to grant an indulgence. These indulgences were granted to pilgrims who visited shrines and churches on particular days, and/or contributed to their upkeep. Their reward was release from a specified number of days in purgatory, usually 140 days, but considerably longer in the case of papal jubilees. Indulgences were therefore a significant pull factor for late medieval pilgrims and the right to offer them was sought by the custodians of a number of Scottish shrines in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁹ One popular style of supplication for an indulgence stressed the existing popularity of a shrine and its renown for miracles. An example of this was a 1419 letter from the custodians of a chapel at Kinfauns, near Perth, which was dedicated to St Ninian. They claimed that, “On Friday of every week a multitude of the faithful come on account of devotion to Ninian”, and that an indulgence was required to provide funds to accommodate them.⁶⁰ Other religious institutions requested the right to offer an indulgence to help raise funds to deal with destruction caused by war or natural disasters. A 1428 supplication from the custodians of Iona, which cited the ruinous decay of their monastic buildings as a result of local political upheavals, was typical of this approach.⁶¹ When combined with other sources, these supplications allow us to map out tentatively the patterns in domestic pilgrimage in late medieval Scotland.

The most striking feature amongst the apparently thriving pilgrimage centres in late medieval Scotland is the preponderance of shrines focused on

56 CDS, ii, no.8, 1225, iv, nos. 448, 449, 486 & 487.

57 Penman, “Christian Days and Knights”, 249–72, *ER*, ii, 226.

58 *ER*, vii, 78, vii, 79, *TA*, i, 29, 44, *ER*, viii, 215.

59 Annie I. Dunlop, “Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth Century Scotland”, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 15 (1965), 153–169; Robert N. Swanson, *Indulgences in late Medieval England. Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: University Press, 2007), 1–31.

60 *CSSR*, 1418–22, 114.

61 *CSSR*, 1423–1428, 193

devotion to the Virgin Mary and Christ. Devotion to Mary played an increasingly important role in religious practice across Latin Christendom from the thirteenth century.⁶² Lacking conventional corporeal relics, Marian shrines were, and often still are today, based around miraculous statues or other objects associated with the mother of Christ. In the case of the shrine of Loretto in Italy, the object of veneration was Mary's house, miraculously transported there from the Holy Land. Four of these Marian shrines in Scotland, at Whitekirk in East Lothian (1386, 1470), Edrom in Berwickshire (1393), Pety near Dunfermline (1434) and one in Dumfries (1427), were identified by their custodians as thriving pilgrimage centres in the papal letters from this period.⁶³ The shrine at Whitekirk seems to have had the greatest durability, with references to pilgrim traffic in 1388 and 1470.⁶⁴ It was impressive enough to attract the attention of the future Pope, Pius II (1458–64), who visited in 1435.⁶⁵ There were further Marian shrines at Fetteresso in Kincardineshire and one at Musselburgh in Midlothian. This latter shrine was a Loretto chapel at which miracles were reported in 1510 and 1533.⁶⁶ The apparent impiety of the throngs of pilgrims heading to Musselburgh in 1533 was sufficient to provoke the ire of poet David Lindsay, and the shrine was visited by James V in 1536 and Mary of Guise in 1543.⁶⁷

A heightened interest in the life, and particularly the death, of Jesus Christ, was also a prominent trend in late medieval religious practice. This interest was reflected in the popularity of images and dedications to Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, and of cults like the Holy Blood and Five Wounds that were based on

62 Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 52–55. For a wider European context, Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976).

63 *CPL*, *Benedict XIII*, 112; *CSSR*, 1447–1471, no. 1427. For Edrom *CPL*, *Benedict XIII*, 196–7, *CSSR*, 1433–1447, no. 160; *CSSR*, 1423–1428, 168.

64 *CPL*, *Benedict XIII*, 112; *CSSR*, 1447–1471, no. 1427.

65 Margaret Meserve & Marcello Simonetta, eds., *Commentaries Pius II* (London: Harvard University Press, 2003), i, 19.

66 Fetteresso is mentioned as a chapel “famous for miracles” in a supplication for an indulgence presented by James IV in 1510. Robert K. Hannay, ed., *The Letters of James the Fourth, 1505–1513* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1953), 182–3.

67 Laing, ed., *Works of Sir David Lyndsay* iii, 40, E. G. Cody and William Murison, eds., *Historie of Scotland, written by John Leslie* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1888), ii, 253; *RSS*, ii, 2175, E. Patricia Dennison and Russel Coleman, *Historic Musselburgh* (Aberdeen: Historic Scotland, 1996), 20, 24 & 67; Audrey-Beth Fitch, “Marian Devotion in Scotland and the Shrine of Loretto”, in *A History of Everyday Life in Medieval Scotland, 1000 to 1600*, eds. Edward J. Cowan & Lizanne Henderson (Edinburgh: University Press, 2011), 274–88.

his suffering on the cross.⁶⁸ The Holy Blood cult was especially popular with Scottish merchants, and may well have been introduced to Scotland from Flanders, where a phial of Christ's blood was, and still is, on display in the Basilica of the Holy Blood in Bruges. Mercantile interest in this cult is vividly demonstrated by the sixteenth-century Fetternear banner, which probably belonged to the Edinburgh merchant guild.⁶⁹ The banner, now housed in the National Museum of Scotland, depicted a bleeding Christ on the cross, surrounded by nails, birch and the other ephemera of his crucifixion. Scottish interest in a range of Christ cults is also apparent in references in a number of contemporary literary works, and by the appearance of several small, but apparently thriving, pilgrimage centres built around the possession of miracle-working crosses.⁷⁰ Perhaps the best documented of these was at the church of the Holy Cross at Peebles where, according to Fordun and Bower, a rood that performed miracles was discovered in the 1260s.⁷¹ This still seems to have been an active shrine as late as the sixteenth century when James IV and James V are recorded there as pilgrims.⁷² A chapel at Montrose was also granted the right to an indulgence for pilgrims coming to see its "miraculous cross" in 1446, and another miracle-working cross was the object of pilgrimage to Crail in Fife in the early sixteenth-century.⁷³

In addition to these Marian and Christocentric sites, three popular international saints had shrines in late medieval Scotland.⁷⁴ Katherine of Alexandria, whose main shrine was at Mount Sinai in Egypt, drew pilgrims in Scotland to her Balm Well (sometimes known as the Oily Well) at Liberton on the outskirts of Edinburgh, which received an indulgence in 1420.⁷⁵ The well, which had a reputation for healing skin diseases, was visited by James IV in 1504, by a Danish ambassador in 1535, and was in use until destroyed by Cromwellian troops in 1650.⁷⁶ Anthony of Egypt,

68 MacDonald, "Passion Devotion in late medieval Scotland", 109–32.

69 David McRoberts, "The Fetternear banner, (1)", *Innes Review* 7 (1956), 69–96.

70 MacDonald, "Passion Devotion in late medieval Scotland", 111–130.

71 *Chron. Fordun*, i, 299, *Chron. Bower*, v, 335.

72 Ditchburn, "The 'McRoberts Thesis'", 178–180.

73 For Montrose, *CSSR*, 1433–1447, no. 1329. For Crail see Laing, ed, *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 30.

74 Known as 'branch' shrines, these were smaller subsidiary sites associated with international saints, St Andrews being the most obvious example in Scotland. Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 2000), 81.

75 *CSSR*, 1418–22, 186.

76 The ambassador was Peder Sware of Lubeck. W.N. Boog Watson, "The Balm Well of St Catherine, Liberton", *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 33 (1969–72), 137–142. Another site associated with the saint was a chapel at Moorhall near Ayr, which received an indulgence in 1446, *CSSR*, 1433–1447, no. 1277.

who was also associated with the cure of skin diseases but was most commonly known for curing livestock, had shrines in Leith and in the hunting park near the abbey of Holyrood in Edinburgh. These sites claimed to be catering to large numbers of pilgrims in supplications from 1416, 1418 and 1426.⁷⁷ Nicholas of Myra was patron of the burgh church of Aberdeen and was closely associated with east coast mercantile communities. A popular pilgrimage centre associated with the saint was a chapel described as located “in the sea” close to Dundee. The chapel to which, according to the supplication, “Multitudes come especially on Nicholas day”, was granted an indulgence in 1419.⁷⁸ Both Katherine and Anthony are depicted on a surviving wall painting in the church of Fowlis Easter in Angus, and their popularity, and that of Nicholas, is well attested in late medieval Scotland.⁷⁹

While there were numerous shrines across Scotland based around the relics of local saints, only three had a reputation for attracting significant numbers of pilgrims in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These were the shrines of Ninian at Whithorn, Duthac at Tain and Kentigern at Glasgow. One important piece of evidence for the relative popularity of these various shrines comes from an early sixteenth-century liturgical document, the Martyrology of Aberdeen. The Martyrology included short descriptions of the numerous Scottish saints who featured in its calendar.⁸⁰ Only in the sections on Ninian, Duthac and Kentigern was there any reference to the more-than-local popularity of their respective shrines.⁸¹ Two of these shrines, those of Duthac (Tain) and Ninian (Whithorn), were described, along with St Andrews', as the “four heid pilgrimages of Scotland”, in 1524.⁸² Being sent to the “four heid pilgrimages” was a penitential sentence handed down by Scottish courts to perpetrators of homicides.⁸³ The shrines that made up this quartet varied over time.

77 *CPL, Clement VII*, 346, *CSSR*, 1418–22, 12, *CSSR*, 1423–1428, 122–3. Devotion to Anthony was encouraged by the monks of Kelso, on whose land the chapel in Edinburgh stood, and who also had a chapel within their abbey dedicated to the saint, for which they were granted an indulgence in 1435, *CSSR*, 1428–32, 185.

78 *Ibid*, 185.

79 Michael R. Apter and W. Norman Robertson, “Late fifteenth century Church paintings from Guthrie and Foulis Easter”, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 95 (1961–2), 262–79. There were dedications to Nicholas and Katherine in all major Scottish churches, and to Anthony in the trading towns.

80 Table 2. no. 32.

81 Forbes, ed, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, 127–8, 129 & 134.

82 Denis MacKay, “The four heid pilgrimages of Scotland”, *Innes Review* 20 (1974), 76–7. On this occasion only three of the four destinations were listed.

83 For example in Marguerite Wood, ed., *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514–28* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1944), ii, 592.

A further indenture from 1530 mentioned Scone (Fergus), Dundee (?), Paisley (Mirren) and Melrose (Waltheof?) as the four destinations.⁸⁴ However, none of these locations are recorded elsewhere as being significant pilgrimage centres in the later middle ages.

The only Scottish saint to attract significant numbers of domestic and international pilgrims to his shrine in the later middle ages was Ninian. Governmental legislation passed in 1427 and 1516 to protect and regulate pilgrimage to Whithorn, and a series of letters sent to the papacy by James v, suggest that the majority of the international traffic came from Ireland, England and the Isle of Man.⁸⁵ Visitors from Wales, Spain and France are also mentioned in a fourteenth-century description of the shrine, and noted at other points in the later middle ages.⁸⁶ Aside from this international traffic, the scale of domestic pilgrimage to Whithorn is difficult to measure with any accuracy. Royal pilgrims at Whithorn in the later middle ages included Robert I, James III, James IV and James V.⁸⁷ Scottish Queens also visited the shrine: Margaret Logie in 1365, Mary of Guelders in 1462, Margaret of Denmark in 1473 and 1474 and Margaret Tudor in 1507.⁸⁸ The late fourteenth-century *Legends of the Saints* described crowds of domestic and international pilgrims at Whithorn on an important feast day, while letters to the papacy in the sixteenth-century from John Stewart, Duke of Albany (d.1536) and James V were keen to stress the continuing popularity of the shrine and its enduring reputation for miracles.⁸⁹ Although we must treat documents directly promoting Whithorn with a degree of caution, it is clear that the shrine enjoyed

84 The indenture of 1530 was between the Kerrs of Cessford and Scotts of Buccleuch following the slaughter of Andrew Ker and others by Walter Scot at Melrose. MacKay, "The four heid pilgrimages", 76.

85 RMS, ii, no.107, RSS, i, no. 2844, Hannay, ed, *Letters of James V*, 109 & 363.

86 The description of Whithorn on a feast day appears to be an eye witness account. Metcalfe, ed. *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 325–6. A Welsh pilgrim/political refugee James Griffith was at Whithorn in 1533 with eight companions, Robert Lemon et al., eds., *State Papers, published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission. Henry the Eighth* (London: Record Commission, 1830–52), iv, 647–51.

87 Robert was at Whithorn on 1–4 April 1329, Duncan ed. *The Acts of Robert I*, 157. Macdougall has suggested that James III was with his queen on one of the two occasions that she visited the shrine in 1473 and 1474. TA, i, 29, 44 and ER, viii, 215, Macdougall, *James III*, 90. James V visited Whithorn in 1526, 1532, 1533 and 1536, TA, v, 276, vi, 47, 87 & 90.

88 ER, ii, 226, iii, 79, viii, 215, TA, i, 29 & 44.

89 Metcalfe, ed, *Legends of the Saints*, 325–6; Robert K. Hannay, ed., *Letters of James V* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1954), 66, 109 & 362–3. In addition to Whithorn, there were small secondary shrines associated with the saint at Kinfauns near Perth, Dunmure near Alloa and at an unspecified location "in the wilderness" of Argyll which are first attested in the fifteenth century. CSSR, 1418–22, 114 & 159; CSSR, 1433–1447, no. 854 & 1106.

a consistent reputation as an effective curative centre throughout the later middle ages, with regular domestic and international pilgrim traffic.

Tain, which housed the relics of St Duthac, is first recorded as an active shrine during the Wars of Independence. In 1306 Elizabeth and Marjory Bruce, with their guardian John, earl of Atholl, were captured while seeking sanctuary at the church.⁹⁰ It was probably another century or so before Tain became the subject of regular and long-distance pilgrimage traffic. This growing popularity was recognised by James Haldenstone, prior of St Andrews, who in 1418 began the process of having Duthac's sanctity recognised by the papacy. A letter was sent to Martin V (1417–31) which described the saint as a bishop-confessor with a national cult built on a reputation for miracle working.⁹¹ Following a serious fire in 1427, work began on a new reliquary church which was finished by 1457.⁹² The later fifteenth century also saw the reputation of the shrine spread beyond Scotland. In 1478, the saint had come to the attention of William of Worcester, an English collector of travellers' tales who described Duthac as "the saint reckoned to be the most venerated in the land of Ross".⁹³ Royal patronage of Tain also began in the fifteenth century, during the reign of James II, although it would be under James IV that it reached its peak. The king visited the shrine at least once a year during his adult reign, a trend continued by his son, James V, who visited Tain on at least four occasions.⁹⁴ It was in the century before the reformation that the shrine reached its peak of popularity, with the Martyrology of Aberdeen noting that in this period Duthac was attracting large numbers of pilgrims from both the Gaelic and English speaking parts of Scotland.⁹⁵ Ralph Hollinshed, an English chronicler referring to the pre-reformation popularity of the shrine, commented that Duthac's relics had been "had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (...) than the holy gospel of God and merits of his son".⁹⁶

90 Archibald A.M. Duncan, ed., *The Bruce. John Barbour* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), iv/45–55, *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 334.

91 Baxter, ed. *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*. 5.

92 The church was certainly completed before 1458 when the Exchequer Rolls list a payment by James II referring to the "nova fundacione" at Tain, *ER*, vi. 465

93 William also noted the popularity of the shrine of Ninian at Whithorn. John H. Harvey, ed., *Itineraries [of] William Worcestre* (Oxford: 1969), 7.

94 Turpie, "Our friend in the north", 19–20.

95 Forbes, ed, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, 129. The author of the Martyrology noted that pilgrims from Britain and "Hybernia" could be found at the shrine. The author was presumably differentiating between Gaelic and English speaking pilgrims, or between those from mainland Britain and Ireland.

96 Hollinshed, *The Scottish Chronicle*, i, 8.

The only large cathedral shrine to be noted as an active pilgrimage destination by the sixteenth century was Glasgow.⁹⁷ In what appears to have been a reaction to a decline in visitor numbers, the fifteenth century saw concerted efforts by the bishops and cathedral chapter to encourage pilgrimage to the shrine. The first stage in this process was a 1420 papal supplication by William Lauder (1408–25), to have the bones and relics of Kentigern translated into a “chest of gold or silver so that they may be the more devoutly honoured by Christ’s faithful”.⁹⁸ In 1449 the shrine custodians were granted the right to offer an indulgence linked to the Papal jubilee. It attracted sufficient numbers of pilgrims to allow the bishop, William Turnbull (1447–54), to lend James II £800 from the profits.⁹⁹ A second stage of promotion took place during the archiepiscopate of Robert Blacadder (1484–1508). The archbishop (bishop until 1492) endowed a new altar dedicated to his patron in Glasgow Cathedral and founded a chapel devoted to Kentigern at Culross in Fife in 1503.¹⁰⁰ Blacadder also instigated a building campaign to further rejuvenate the cult, with plans for an ambitious new aisle in his cathedral.¹⁰¹ These activities seem to have been fairly effective. Aside from the reference in the Martyrology of Aberdeen, the repute of the shrine at Glasgow was noted by English writers in the fifteenth century.¹⁰² The saint’s general reputation for performing curative miracles continued to the reformation. David Lindsay noted, with some distaste, that it was still common in the 1550s to bring “mad men”, to “St Mongose cross” at Borthwick in Lothian, in the hope of a cure.¹⁰³

Similar efforts were made by the shrine custodians at St Andrews and Dunkeld to boost interest in their patron saints in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These shrines, and that of Margaret at Dunfermline, suffered

97 Forbes, ed, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, 127.

98 *CSSR*, 1418–22, 182–3.

99 *CSSR*, 1447–1471, no. 239. A grant to the cathedral by James II of fermes, revenues and profits from Bute, Arran, Cowal and burgh customs from Ayr, Irvine and Dumbarton were part of the repayment of this debt. *RMS*, ii, no. 542; Steve Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250–1513* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), 152–3.

100 *RMS*, ii, no. 2723.

101 The Blacadder Aisle was the last major building work completed at the cathedral, what remains today is a remnant of the ambitious plans that the archbishop had for a new east wing. Shead, “Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow”, 15.

102 English spy John Hardyng suggested making an offering at Kentigern’s shrine as part of any future English invasion of Scotland. Peter Hume-Brown, ed., *Early travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1891), 21–3.

103 Laing, ed, *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 30; Brown, “Lay Piety in later Medieval Lothian”, 270.

from a Europe-wide decline in the popularity of older sacred sites.¹⁰⁴ The peak in popularity of the shrines of the apostle and St Margaret had probably been the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They continued to receive English and continental visitors until the mid-fourteenth century after which St Andrews appears to have lost its status as a shrine of international repute, while Dunfermline and the twin Columban centres at Iona and Dunkeld also appear to have been struggling to attract significant numbers of pilgrims.¹⁰⁵ In an effort to attract custom, the shrine at St Andrews was substantially remodelled in the 1420s.¹⁰⁶ At the same time the prior of St Andrews, James Haldenstone, sent a letter to the other Scottish bishops, urging them to promote the relics of the national patron saint.¹⁰⁷ The custodians of St Andrews also managed to obtain indulgences for those visiting the cathedral and contributing to its refurbishment in 1378, 1418, 1472 and 1487, and made efforts to connect the apostle with other popular cults like those of Mary and Michael the Archangel.¹⁰⁸ Dunkeld also received the right to offer a number of indulgences in the fifteenth century, while a series of bishops and members of the cathedral chapters made concerted efforts to promote the cult of St Columba at the cathedral and elsewhere in Scotland.¹⁰⁹ Despite these attempts at promotion, there is little evidence to suggest that either of these shrines were receiving significant numbers of pilgrims in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In addition to the large episcopal centres, individual Scottish clerics made efforts to promote the shrines of a series of local saints. In 1432 the vicar of Fordoun in Angus (probably one Thomas Ramsay) had received the right to offer

104 Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, 176–9; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 195. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a gradual decline in the importance of long established shrines in England like those of Cuthbert (Durham), Thomas (Canterbury) and Edmund (Bury St Edmunds), and growing importance of Walsingham (Our Lady) and Hailes (Holy Blood).

105 David Ditchburn, “Saints at the Door Don’t Make Miracles”? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c.1450–1550”, in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland. Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, eds. Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 92–93; Tom Turpie, “When the miracles ceased. Shrine and cult management at St Andrews and Scottish cathedrals in the later middle ages”, in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult and City*, eds. Michael Brown, Katie Stevenson & Alex Woolf (St Andrews Studies in Scottish History, 2016).

106 David McRoberts, “The Glorious House of St Andrew”, in McRoberts, ed, *The Medieval Church of St Andrews*, 69–70.

107 Baxter, ed. *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 119–21 & 454–6.

108 *Ibid*, 115, 116 & 452, Bliss, ed. *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers*, xii, 203, xiv, 178.

109 *CPL, Benedict XIII*, 27, *CSSR*, 1418–22, 99, *CSSR*, 1447–1471, no. 199. See Chapter 3 for further discussion of the late medieval cult of St Columba.

an indulgence to raise funds to construct a chapel on the site of the tomb of St Palladius, complaining that although the site was “famous and well visited”, it was lacking in structure and ornaments.¹¹⁰ In c.1490 William Scheves, archbishop of St Andrews, attempted to further stimulate interest in the shrine by translating the relics of Palladius to a more elaborate tomb.¹¹¹ The saint had played an important symbolic role in the chronicle histories of Scotland, and the supplication and translation may have been part of a broader attempt to promote his cult in the fifteenth century. In the late 1490s the abbot of Paisley, Robert Shaw (1498–1525), created a large new pilgrims’ chapel in his abbey decorated with a frieze depicting scenes from the life of St Mirren.¹¹² However, there is no documentary evidence to indicate that the shrine custodians at Paisley or Fordoun were successful in stimulating large-scale pilgrimage to either site. The custodians of the relics of St Triduana, at Restalrig on the western outskirts of Edinburgh, had somewhat more success. Their saint had also featured prominently in the chronicle histories, and had a reputation based around curing diseases of the eye.¹¹³ In the late 1470s the saint attracted the patronage of James III who built a new chapel, and later collegiate church (1487), contiguous with the parish church of Restalrig.¹¹⁴ In 1486 James went on a pilgrimage to the shrine, taking with him William Elphinstone and Giacomo Passerella, the bishop of Imola and papal legate to England and Scotland.¹¹⁵ The shrine appears to have continued to attract pilgrims up until the reformation. In 1560 it was roundly condemned by the General Assembly of the now reformed Church of Scotland, who labelled the church at Restalrig as a “monument of idolatrie” and ordered it to be destroyed.¹¹⁶

110 CSSR, 1428–1432, 216–7.

111 Boece mentions a search made by Archbishop Scheves of St Andrews for the relics of Palladius, *Chron. Boece*, i, 299, which McRoberts places around 1490, McRoberts, “The Scottish Church and Nationalism”, 10.

112 Richard Fawcett, “The Architectural framework for the cult of saints: some Scottish examples”, in *Images of Medieval Sanctity, essays in honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra H. Strickland (Leiden: Brill 2007), 77.

113 David Lindsay referred to this skill in his poem of 1550, Laing, ed, *Works of Sir David Lindsay*, iii, 30.

114 Alasdair A. MacDonald, “The Chapel of Restalrig: Royal folly or venerable shrine?” in *A Palace in the Wild. Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in late medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, eds. Luuk Houwen, et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 27–61; Brown, “Saint Triduana of Restalrig?” 45–69.

115 MacDonald, “The Chapel of Restalrig”, 38.

116 Thomas Thomson, ed., *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1839–45), i, 5. The motive may have been John Knox’s dislike of the dean of Restalrig, John Sinclair. Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: University Press, 2007), 43, n. 14.

Although it has been suggested that interest in pilgrimage waned in the early sixteenth century, there is little evidence to suggest that as an activity pilgrimage was in decline in later medieval Scotland.¹¹⁷ Rather than interest in the activity itself, it was the focus of pilgrimage that had changed.¹¹⁸ This view corresponds with recent trends in scholarship in England which have noted that, whilst there were changes in the dynamics of pilgrimage in the later middle ages, as a practice it was still widely popular, if not at its peak in this period.¹¹⁹ The major trend in this period was what Webb has called a “decentralisation of devotion”, with a move away from the large episcopal centres to smaller local shrines based around images, miraculous crosses and healing wells, and only rarely the relics of saints. Aside from the cathedral shrines of Whithorn and Glasgow, and the small church of Tain in the north, the thriving pilgrimage destinations of late medieval Scotland seem to have been smaller churches and chapels associated with the Virgin Mary, Christ and a selection of international saints.

While some of these newer shrines, like Whitekirk and Peebles, remained popular over a length of time, most had brief bursts of large-scale popularity stimulated by miracles or well-directed indulgences.¹²⁰ There is little indication of large numbers of pilgrims at the shrines of Baldred at Tynningham, Kessog at Luss or Constantine at Govan, saints who had featured regularly in fifteenth-century Scottish calendars, or for that matter at established centres like Dunfermline or St Andrews. Although what Bower and Elphinstone would have defined as Scottish saints appear to have played a relatively minor role in domestic pilgrimage, the locals who flocked to the shrines at Whitekirk and Peebles were not necessarily ignoring local saints consciously. Marian and Christocentric shrines were often viewed as homes to distinct and localised

117 Ian Cowan has suggested that the activity was “less common” in the sixteenth century, and Peter Yeoman places the decline more specifically after the reign of James IV. A similar theme is apparent in McRobert’s thesis which suggests two periods of decline for Scottish shrines sandwiching a church/crown promoted boom in the fifteenth century. Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation, church and society in sixteenth century Scotland* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1982), 7; Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, 101; McRoberts, “The Scottish Church and Nationalism”, 9–14.

118 Ditchburn, “Saints at the Door Don’t Make Miracles?”, 78 & 97–98.

119 Eamon Duffy, “The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England”, in *Pilgrimage the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, eds. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 164 and 176–77; Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, 193–5. For a slightly different take, George W. Bernard, “Vitality and Vulnerability in the late medieval Church. Pilgrimage on the eve of the break with Rome”, in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries*, ed. John L. Watts (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), 199–234.

120 Diana Webb, *Medieval European pilgrimage, c.700–c.1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 42.

divine beings, a sentiment summarised by the custodians of the Marian shrine at Saragossa in Spain who stated that “there is no Virgin like ours”.¹²¹ Pilgrims visiting the Balm Well at Liberton or the Loretto shrine in Musselburgh were unlikely to have felt that they were venerating the relics of a foreign saint.¹²²

3 Preparing for the Hereafter. Dedications to the Saints in Scottish Churches

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of religious practice in the later middle ages was the emphasis that the church and laity placed on the theological principles of salvation, redemption and purgation. The growing focus on the rituals surrounding death and on posthumous commemoration in contemporary art, literature and in religious patronage stemmed at least in part from the societal shocks of war, famine and pestilence that were so prevalent in the fourteenth century. Within the intensified spiritual environment engendered by these events the saints fulfilled a vital societal need. They explained and mitigated the various misfortunes of life, and acted as intercessors to ensure salvation after death. It is perhaps unsurprising therefore that from the late fourteenth century to the reformation there was a general flourishing of devotion to the saints.¹²³ In late medieval England and Italy, testaments have proved to be a fruitful source for exploring the evolving rituals of death, but unfortunately have survived in too limited numbers for applying such quantitative research to Scotland.¹²⁴ However, plentiful evidence in the form of altar and chaplainry dedications, and in payments for funerary and anniversary masses, has survived to allow us a strong sense of how many late medieval Scots planned for the afterlife.

It was the desire for permanent commemoration that prompted the wealthiest Scots, including the royal family, to found collegiate churches such as those at Rosslyn, Seton and Crichton. These churches provided a location at which groups of chaplains would say mass in perpetuity for the

¹²¹ Wilson, Introduction, 12.

¹²² Ditchburn, “The ‘McRoberts Thesis’”, 193.

¹²³ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 156.

¹²⁴ Clive Burgess, “Longing to be prayed for: death and commemoration in an English parish in the later Middle Ages”, and Samuel K. Cohn Jr, “The place of the dead in Flanders and Tuscany: toward a comparative history of the Black Death”, in *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), 44–65 & 17–43.

souls of the patron and acted as family mausoleums. Further down the social scale, the same desire for personal salvation and remembrance prompted the foundation of hundreds of chapels, altars and chaplainries in Scotland's cathedral, burgh and parish churches from the early fourteenth century to the reformation. The foundation of chaplainries was a reciprocal arrangement by which the donor gifted property to support a priest, or priests, who in return would say masses and prayers in perpetuity for the souls of the designated individuals or groups. An altar founded by Malcolm Guthrie in Brechin Cathedral on 17 November 1485 was typical of this type of commemoration. Malcolm, a merchant and burgess of Brechin, founded his altar in honour of the northern saint, Duthac of Tain. The foundation charter specified that its chaplain should say mass for the souls of the donor, his wife Egidie and son John, his mother and father, all their friends and finally his business partners.¹²⁵ In addition to its spiritual benefit, more overtly secular motivations could also play a role in these foundations, as they could be a sign of social status or upward mobility.¹²⁶

The decision to honour a particular saint could be dictated by a number of factors. Date of birth, familial tradition, geography and occupation all provided links to different saints. Whatever the motivation behind the choice, the aim was the same. By adopting and honouring a specific saint, the client hoped to be adopted and protected in turn by their supernatural patron.¹²⁷ Aside from moderately wealthy laymen like Malcolm, altars and chaplainries were also established by corporate entities such as merchant and craft guilds. One of the key purposes of a guild was to provide funerals and commemoration for its members on a cooperative basis, although their altars could also be a focus for, and sign of, corporate identity and prestige.¹²⁸ A third group who were responsible for the foundation of chaplainries were clerics. In addition to similar incentives of salvation and familial prestige, these men were also on occasion motivated by diocesan, institutional and regional loyalties in their choice of the saint to whom the altar was dedicated. The range of such dedications in Glasgow Cathedral, and the large burgh church of St Mary's in Dundee, have been used

125 Cosmo Innes, ed., *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1856), ii, 120.

126 For examples of this in Aberdeen, Allan White, "The Impact of the Reformation on the Burgh Community. The Case of Aberdeen", in *The Early Modern town in Scotland*, ed. M. Lynch (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 88.

127 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 161–164.

128 *Ibid.*, 141–54.

to both support and refute the suggestion that there was a “bias in favour of national saints” in Scottish religious practice in the later middle ages.¹²⁹ A broader survey of evidence for lay and clerical dedications to saints in Scotland’s cathedrals and its large, medium and rural churches will give us a better idea of the saints viewed by late medieval Scots as the most effective in the search for salvation.

Evidence for the full range of altar dedications has survived for five Scottish cathedrals (see Table 3 below). The major patrons of the cathedrals were clerics, often from the local chapter, the crown and occasionally local burgesses and nobles. Perhaps the most striking trend in these churches is the preponderance of dedications to Mary, Christ and the Holy family. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries altars dedicated to Mary, the Holy Cross (known in Scots as the Holy Rood) and John the Baptist could be found in each of the cathedrals. Dedications to biblical figures became increasingly prevalent in the latter part of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as earlier altars were augmented by those in honour of individuals connected to Christ, such as Anne (Mary’s mother) and Mary Magdalene. The fifteenth century also saw the arrival of new forms of devotion directed toward Mary and Christ, such as the cults of the Five Wounds, Holy Blood, Name of Jesus and Our Lady of Pity. The majority of the remaining chaplainry dedications found in the cathedrals were dedicated to other biblical saints like Peter, Michael and James, and to pan-European cults, like those of Katherine and Nicholas. Dedications to a series of other saints who were popular across Western Europe like Christopher, Stephen, Martin of Tours and Lawrence, were also commonly found in these churches. Altars dedicated to another major European saint, Thomas of Canterbury, could be found in Brechin, Elgin and Glasgow. Interest in Thomas, and an altar dedicated to Cuthbert of Durham in Glasgow, shows that the traditional connections of these saints to the English monarchy had little influence on their popularity in Scotland.¹³⁰

If there was a church-led campaign in favour of national saints in the fifteenth century, as McRoberts and others have suggested, we would expect to see this manifested in a strong correlation between clerical dedications and

129 McRoberts, “The Scottish Church and Nationalism”, 10; Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 56.

130 Cuthbert had a complex relationship with the Scots in the later middle ages. Although lauded by the English crown and nobility as a protector of the north from Scottish invasions, he remained popular across southern Scotland. Turpie, “A Monk from Melrose?”, 47–69. Thomas was also a complex figure, who was often venerated as an opponent of the English crown. Penman, “The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury”, 346–71.

TABLE 3 *Altars and Chaplainries in Scottish Cathedrals*

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ephemera etc.
1. Aberdeen (St Machar)	Mary (1338), Katherine (b(efore)0.1436), John the Evangelist (b.1436), Andrew (b.1436), Columba (b.1436), Michael (b.1436), John the Baptist (1439), Ninian (1454), Maurice (b.1483), Holy Blood (1493), Holy Cross (b.1506). ¹³¹	Comgan, Katherine, Martha, Margaret of Antioch and Barbara (1491), Sebastian and Stephen and Lawrence (1500), Devenick and the Five Wounds of Christ (1507), Sebastian and Catherine and Barbara (1531). ¹³²	1403 Arras tapestry with depiction of Three Kings of Cologne, piece of cross of St Andrew, 1559. Image of Mary. ¹³³
2. Brechin (Holy Trinity)	Mary (1360), John the Baptist (b.1429), Mary Magdalene (b.1435), Thomas of Canterbury (b.1435) Christopher (1449), Ninian (1451), Duthac (1485), Katherine (1485), Triduana (b.1505). ¹³⁴	Nicholas and Sebastian (b.1512). ¹³⁵	–
3. Dunkeld (St Columba)	Ninian (1398), Mary (b.1440), All Saints (b.1480), Katherine (b.1485), Peter (1490), Martin, Nicholas, Andrew, Stephen, John Baptist (all 1500), Michael (b.1514), Thomas (?) (b.1544). ¹³⁶	–	c.1461 2 statues and a wall painting of Columba. 1500. Bells named George, Mary and Columba. ¹³⁷

131 Innes, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, i, 65, 127, 239–40, 267, 137–38, ii, 102.

132 *Ibid* i, 348 & 353, *RMS*, iii, no. 1073.

133 Innes, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, i, xxxv & lxxxviii.

134 NRS Document relating to Brechin Cathedral, GD1/111/1, Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, ii, i, 47–52, ii, 25, 125–27, 47–49, i, 114, ii, 120, i, 105, *TA*, iii, 66.

135 Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, ii, 105.

136 Cosmo Innes, ed, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, by Alexander Myln (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club 1831), 311, 314, 337, 328, 337; *RMS*, ii, no. 1492; *RSS*, iii, no. 861.

137 Innes, ed, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, 23–4, 45–46.

TABLE 3 *Altars and Chaplainries in Scottish Cathedrals (cont.)*

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ephemera etc.
4. Elgin (Holy Trinity)	Nicholas (b.1286), Holy Cross, Mary, (both b.1351), Thomas of Canterbury (1351), Martin (b.1501), Peter (b.1549) ¹³⁸	—	—
5. Glasgow (St Kentigern)	Michael (1178), Serf (1249), Katherine (1263), Mary (1361), John the Baptist (1420s), Blaise (1420s), Andrew (1426), Martin (b.1435), Cuthbert (1436), Machan (1459), Ninian (1472), Stephen and Lawrence (1486), Holy Blood (1487), Nicholas (1488), Christopher (1495), All Saints (1496), James (1496), Holy Rood (1497), Our Lady of Pity (1503), Name of Jesus (1503), Moluag (1507), Nicholas (2nd altar, 1510), Thomas of Canterbury (1511), Anne (1520), Eloi (b.1536). ¹³⁹	Peter and Paul (1498). ¹⁴⁰	1432 Relics of St Bartholomew, Ninian, Thomas of Canterbury. ¹⁴¹

138 Cosmo Innes, ed., *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1837), 50, 76, 80; *RMS*, ii, no. 2625, iv, no. 366.

139 Durkan, "Notes on Glasgow Cathedral", 51–67.

140 *Ibid.*, 58.

141 Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 330.

local saints.¹⁴² This trend should be most apparent in cathedrals, where the bulk of the altars and chaplainries were founded by the clergy. Altars dedicated to very local holy men in the cathedrals, like those in honour of Devenick and Comgan in Aberdeen, and Machan and Moluag in Glasgow, were founded by clergy with an institutional connection to those saint.¹⁴³ Promotion of their local or parish patrons may have been the motivation behind these dedications, but it is also possible that they were intended to form a devotional focus for the inhabitants of these parishes in their regional religious and economic hub. Cathedral and diocesan clergy were also responsible for altars dedicated to Kentigern, Andrew, Cuthbert and Serf in Glasgow, as well as the Ninian altar in Aberdeen.¹⁴⁴ Whilst diocesan or local loyalties played a role in these dedications, these factors did not inevitably affect the choice of saint. Other clergy with connections to Renfrew and Govan founded altars dedicated to Christopher and the Holy Blood rather than their local patrons Conval and Constantine, and cathedral dignitaries in both Glasgow and Aberdeen were responsible for altars dedicated to Mary, Christ and a range of international saints.¹⁴⁵ It was only in Aberdeen and Glasgow that dedications to Scottish saints comprised a significant proportion of the overall total number of altars. On the whole there is limited evidence of a bias in favour of Scottish or local saints in the cathedrals.

The cosmopolitan devotional trends apparent in Scotland's cathedrals were more pronounced in the large burgh churches (see Table 4 below). The building of large and beautifully decorated churches in the major towns was a distinctive feature of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scotland. These vast churches were located almost exclusively in the diocese of St Andrews, which stretched from Berwick to the banks of Dee just south of Aberdeen, and covered much of the eastern part of the kingdom. Only the largest burgh church

¹⁴² McRoberts, "The Scottish Church and Nationalism", 4–8; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone*, 234.

¹⁴³ Table 3, nos. 1 & 5. The Comgan altar was founded by Alexander Vaus, rector of the church of St Comgan's Turriff; the Devenick altar by Alexander Cabell, prebend of St Devenick, Banchory; the Machan altar was founded by Patrick Leich, a canon of the Cathedral whose prebend was the church of St Machan, Campsie. David Cunningham, who was an archdeacon of the diocese of Argyll founded his altar in Glasgow in honour of St Moluag, the diocesan patron.

¹⁴⁴ Table 3, nos. 1 & 5.

¹⁴⁵ Nicholas Ross, rector of Renfrew, dedicated an altar to Christopher in 1495 and Malcolm Durnas, rector of Govan, provided a chaplainry to the Holy Rood altar in 1497. In Aberdeen the Holy Blood altar was founded by Simon Dods, and cathedral treasurer Andrew Lyell founded the altar dedicated to Sebastian, Stephen and Lawrence.

TABLE 4 *Altars and Chaplainries in large Scottish burgh churches*

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ ephemera etc.
1. Aberdeen (St Nicholas)	James (1355), Ninian (1356), Holy Cross (1357), Anne (b.1358), Leonard (1359), Duthac (1359), Katherine (1360), Salvator (1431), Michael (b.1445), Mary and Joseph (b.1444), Stephen (1445), Sebastian (1452), Peter (1455), Christopher (1470), Eloi (1472), Holy Cross (1472), Andrew (1473), Mary Magdalene (1479), Holy Blood (1480), Martin (1480), John the Baptist (1486), Crispin and Crispinian (1495), Barbara (1509), Name of Jesus (1520), Three Kings of Cologne (b.1523), Mary of Piety (b.1528),	Thomas the Apostle and George (1491), Kentigern and Thanay (1502). ¹⁴⁶	Chalices of our lady of pity, Peter, John E, Duthac, Nicholas, Clement, Holy Rood. ¹⁴⁷

146 James Cooper, ed., *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis* (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1888–92), i, lv–lvi. Thaney was almost certainly
Thenew or Enoch, Kentigern's mother who was the subject of a cult in Glasgow cathedral.

147 Innes, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, i, xci.

2. Dundee
(St Mary)
- Holy Cross (1387), Ninian (1401), Salvator (b.1405), James (1432), Michael (b.1438), Thomas of Canterbury (1454), All Saints (1452), Agatha (1454), Katherine (1454), Gregory (1454), John the Baptist (1454), Margaret of Scotland (1455), Andrew (1471), Paul (b.1477), Severus (1478), Three Kings of Cologne (1481), Aubert (1486), Anthony (1489), Blaise (1492), Magnus (1492), Columba (1500), Martin (b.1500), John the Evangelist (1500), Mark (1514), Holy Blood (1515), Peter (b.1524), Sebastian (1529), Monan (1551), Clement (b.1554), Mary Magdalene (b.1554), Matthew (b.1554), Barbara (b.1556), Triduana (b.1556).¹⁴⁸
- George, Leonard and All Saints (1400), Margaret and Thomas the Apostle (1471), Erasmus and Dionysius (1500), Duthac (1516).¹⁴⁹
- 148 C^{PL}, *Clement VII*, 134; Alexander Maxwell, *Old Dundee. Ecclesiastical, Burghal and Social, prior to the Reformation* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1891), 27–28, 31–32, 34, 128 App 1, 558–559 & 561; William Hay, ed, *Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee, 1292–1880* (Dundee: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1880), 26; NRS, Scrymgeour of Wedderburn Writs, GD137/3736; CSSR, 1428–32, 212; Alexander C. Lamb, *Dundee. Its Quaint and Historic buildings* (Dundee: George Petrie, 1895), xxxiv–f; NRS, Scrymgeour of Wedderburn Writs, GD137/3768; RMS, ii, no. 873; Robert Hannay, ed, *Rentale Dunkeldense* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1915), 226 & 243; DDARC, Dundee Burgh and Head Court Books, 1550–1555, fol. 54r 73r, 294v, 323v, 335r, 342r; NRS Henderson Collection, GD76/156; NRS, Scrymgeour of Wedderburn Writs, GD137/3223.
- 149 Maxwell, *Old Dundee*, 18–19, 22–23 & 29–30; Lamb, *Dundee. Its Quaint and Historic buildings*, xxivb.

TABLE 4 *Altars and Chaplainries in large Scottish burgh churches* (cont.)

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ephemera etc.
3. Edinburgh (St Giles)	Mary (1345), John the Baptist (1350), Katherine (1358), Holy Cross (1386), Ninian (1405), Nicholas (b.1438), Duthac (1438), Andrew (b.1447), James (1448), Christopher (1451), Kentigern (1451), Michael (1454), Aubert (1456), Anne (1473), Severus (1475), Francis (1478), Blaise (1486), Holy Trinity (b.1487), Denis (1488), Sebastian (b.1494), Lawrence (1495), Mark (1500), Cuthbert (1504), Holy Blood (b.1505), Anthony (1510), Crispin and Crispinian (1510), Stephen (b.1556) ¹⁵⁰	John the Baptist and Evangelist (1398), Martin and Thomas of Canterbury (1449), Columba (1477), Peter (1478), Gregory (1491), Roch, Mary and the Visitation (1503), Holy Cross, Savior and Vincent (b.1505), All Saints, Thomas the Apostle and Appollonia (1509), Mary and Gabriel (1510, Name of Jesus (1517), Barnabas (1521), Augustine (1523), Triduana (1527) ¹⁵¹	1455 Arm of St Giles presented by William Preston of Gorton. ¹⁵²
150	Cosmo Innes, ed, <i>Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh</i> (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club 1859), nos. 2, 3, 16, 28, 38, 44, 56, 62, 73, 76, 92, 100, 101, 104, App 1, no. 14; NRS Papers of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, GD/103/2/4/17; ECA, Edinburgh Town Council Minutes 1456–1550, SL1/1/1, fol., 35r; Marwick, ed, <i>Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Edinburgh</i> , i, 9–11, 33, 80–81 & 127; NRS Records of Incorporation of Tailors of Edinburgh, GD1/12/2; Gordon Donaldson, ed, <i>Protocol Book of James Young, 1485–1515</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1952), no. 91; Wood, ed, <i>Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514–28</i> , no. 34; Walter McLeod, ed, <i>Protocol Book of John Foular, 1503–1513</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1940), nos. 203 & 671; Robert Adam, ed, <i>Edinburgh Records. The Burgh Accounts</i> (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1899), ii, 74.		
151	Innes, ed, <i>Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii</i> , nos. 22, 67, 87, 89, 105, 114, 116, 130s, App. 1. no. 11; McLeod, ed, <i>Protocol Book of John Foular, 1503–1513</i> , no. 669; ECA, ED12/42 fol. 16v; Wood, ed, <i>Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514–28</i> , iii, no. 53, 375.		
152	Innes, ed, <i>Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii</i> , no. 77.		

4. Haddington
(St Mary)
Peter (b.1426), Ninian (b.1449), Nicholas (1449), John the Baptist (1454), Katherine (b.1491), Salvator (b.1495), James (1516), Holy Cross (b.1518), Anne (b.1530), Andrew (b.1531), Holy Trinity (b.1532), John the Evangelist (1533), Eloi (1534), Holy Blood (b.1536), Aubert (b.1537).¹⁵³
Blaise (b.1477), Michael and Crispin and Crispinian (1505), Severus and Bartholomew (1520), Mary and Three Kings of Cologne (1522), John the Baptist and Evangelist (1530).¹⁵⁴
1530 image of St Duthac 1533 images of Mary and Three Kings of Cologne.¹⁵⁵
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5. Lintlithgow
(St Michael)
James (b.1424), Nicholas (b.1425), John the Baptist (b.1425), Holy Trinity (b.1425), Ninian (b.1446), Eloi (b.1447), Zita of Lucca (b.1447), Anthony (b.1448), Salvator (b.1451), Andrew (b.1453), Katherine (b.1454), Holy Blood (b.1456), Duthac (1488), Mary (b.1491), Holy Cross (b.1496), Brigit (b.1502), All Saints (b.1502), Crispin and Crispinian (b.1506), Stephen (b.1506), Peter (b.1530), Anne (b.1536), John the Evangelist (b.1537).¹⁵⁶
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- 153 NRS Haddington Burgh: Court and Council Records 1423–1514, B30/9/1, fol. 3r, 7r; NRS Haddington Burgh: Court and Council Records 1530–55, B30/9/2, fols. 6r, 17r, 50r; RMS, ii, no. 2005, iii, no. 1616; NRS Notes of Ecclesiastical Records of Haddington, 'especially on Parish Church', GD302/106; NRS Mortifications granted in favour of the parish church of Haddington, 1448–1572, B30/21/40/13 & 22; Barbara L. Horn, 'List of References to the Pre-Reformation altarges in the parish church of Haddington', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalist Society*, x, (1966), 88; NRS Douglas Collection, 1375–1923, GD98/11/7; NRS Protocol Bk of Alex Symson, 1529–44, B30/11/2, fol. 96v.
RMS, ii, no. 133; NRS Mortifications granted in favour of the parish church of Haddington, 1448–1572, B30/21/40/20; NRS Title deeds to properties in and about Haddington, East Lothian, GD1/39/1/21.
154
RMS, ii, no. 133; NRS Mortifications granted in favour of the parish church of Haddington, 1375–1923, GD98/11/8.
155
NRS Douglas Collection, 1375–1923; GD98/11/8, NRS Title deeds to properties in and about Haddington, East Lothian, GD1/39/1/21.
156
ER, iv, 391; John Ferguson, *Ecclesia Antiqua or, the History of An Ancient Church (St Michael's, Lintlithgow)* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1905), App. II, no. 1, 7, 18, 20, 21, 25, 304, App III, no. 4; NRS Henderson Collection, GD76/5, NRS Henderson Collections, GD76/13, NRS Lintlithgow Burgh Charters B48/17/8, TA, i, 337; NRS Writs and Papers Relating to Lintlithgow B48/18/2, RMS, ii, no. 2333, James Beveridge & James Russell, eds, *Protocol Book of Dominus Thomas Johnson, 1528–1578* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1920), nos. 71, 151 & 175, NRS Lintlithgow. Court and Council Record, B48/17/1, fols. 49 & 50 & 125.

TABLE 4 *Altars and Chaplainries in large Scottish burgh churches (cont.)*

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ephemera etc.
6. Perth (St John the Baptist)	Ninian (b.1423), James (b.1423), Nicholas (b.1424), Michael (b.1429), Eloi (b.1431), Mary (1432), John the Evangelist (1448), Lawrence (1454), Clement (1454), Sebastian (1457), Martin (b.1462), Mary Magdalene (b.1466), Thomas the Apostle (b.1466), Andrew (1466), Savior (1466), Katherine (b.1468), Margaret of Scotland (b.1469), Holy Trinity (1469), Bartholomew (b.1486), All Saints (b.1488), Blaise (1490), Mary of Consolation (1491), Fillan (1495), Matthew (b.1500), Severus (b.1504), Columba (b.1514), Duthac (b.1514), Name of Jesus (b.1519), Holy Blood (b.1522), Kentigern (1523), Zita of Lucca (b.1523), Brigit (1523), Barbara (1525), Paul (b.1526), Anne (b.1528), Peter (b.1532), Roch (b.1543), John the Baptist (b.1549), Monan (b.1560). ¹⁵⁷	Simon and Stephen (1471), Dionysius (1488), Christopher (1513), Gregory and Augustine (1529), Joseph (b.1547), Mary and Gabriel (b.1551). ¹⁵⁸	

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NRS Records of King James VI Hospital, Perth, Altarages, GD79/4, Robert Scott Fittis, *Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth to the Period of the Reformation* (Perth: Cowan and Co, 1888), 311 & 314, *RMS*, ii, nos. 197 & 1648, NRS Spens of Lathallan Writs, GD1/1042/5, Marion Stavert, ed, *Perth Guildry Book, 1452–1661* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1993), no. 111, PKDA, Perth Court Books and Court Minute Books, 1507–1554, B59/12/1, fol. 1, 77, Hannay, ed, *Rentale Dunkeldense*, 228 & 243, NRS Breadalbane Muniments, GD12/25/6, PKDA Perth, Documents relating to ecclesiastical affairs, B59/28/10.

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NRS Records of King James VI Hospital, Perth, Altarages, GD79/4, NRS Perth, Protocol Books: Henry Elder, B59/1/1 fol. 90v–91r.

7. St Andrews
(Holy Trinity) Holy Cross (1412), Mary (1415), John the Evangelist (1428), Lawrence (1431), Fergus (1431), All Saints (1431), Michael (1434), John the Baptist (1436), Ninian (b.1439), Nicholas (b.1439), Katherine (b.1449), Fillan (1450), Andrew (1456), Mary Magdalene (b.1467), Bartholomew (b.1467), Holy Blood (b.1472), James (1475), Duthac (1481), Mary of Piety (1491), Anthony (b.1493), Eloi (b.1497), Anne (b.1498), Sebastian (b.1508), Aubert (b.1536), Peter (b.1536), Martin (b.1541).¹⁵⁹

8. Stirling
(Holy Rood) Lawrence (b.1398), Ninian (b.1432), Michael (b.1450), Mary (b.1457), Holy Trinity (b.1460), Thomas the Apostle (1468), Andrew (b.1471), Anne (b.1471), John the Baptist (b.1472), James (b.1472), Salvator (b.1476), Katherine (b.1478), Stephen (b.1482), Holy Blood (b.1502), Eloi (b.1520), Luke (b.1522), Matthew (b.1522), Aubert (1526).¹⁶¹

Peter and Paul (1474).¹⁶²

159 W.E.K. Rankin, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity St Andrews* (Edinburgh: St Andrews University, 1955), 57–58, 64–65, 68–69 & 70–71, App. no. 17, 80–81, *cPL*, Ben, 312, StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/18c, 21c, 22c, 24c, 26c, 38c, 46c, 48c, 60c, 187c, StAUL, Records of St Mary's College, St Andrews, UYSMno/B12/2, StAUL, Miscellaneous writs relating to properties with connections to St Mary's College, St Andrews, UYSMno/B16/3, NRS, Records of Thomson and Baxter, GD241/198, StAUL Muniments of the University of St Andrews, UYUY150/1, fol. 48r–50v, 7A, i, 333, StAUL Records of St Salvator's College, St Andrews, UYSSno/AE/8, *Liber Officialis Sancti Andree* (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1845), no.127.

160 Rankin, *Church of the Holy Trinity St Andrews*, 92, StAUL, Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/143c, 182c, 240c, 296c.

161 Robert Renwick, ed, *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the Burgh of Stirling*, AD. 1124–1705 (Glasgow: Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1884), 23; SCA, Stirling Burgh Charters and other Documents, B66/25/13, 34 & 53; *Abstract of the Protocol Book of the Burgh of Stirling, 1469–84* (Edinburgh: T & A Constable, 1896), 8, 9, 7, 23, 11, 10, 25, 30, 43, & 51; NRS Sir William Fraser Charters, GD86/20 & 22; SCA Stirling Court and Council records, 1519–1530, B66/15/1; Robert Renwick, ed, *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Stirling, AD 1519–1666* (Glasgow: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1888), 3 & 15.

162 *Abstract of the Prot Bk of Stirling, 1469–84*, 23.

of all, St Nicholas in Aberdeen, was found outside the diocese of St Andrews. The broad interest in Christ and the Holy family was especially marked in these churches, each of which contained altars dedicated to St Salvator, (Christ as saviour of the world) as well as a range of other Marian and Passion related cults. East coast burghs like Aberdeen and Edinburgh had the strongest commercial connections to Europe, and in these churches guilds and burgh families, rather than clergy and local nobility, were responsible for the majority of dedications. These trading connections account for the appearance of fashionable late medieval cults in these churches. Dedications to the Three Kings of Cologne could be found in Aberdeen, Dundee and Haddington; there were altars in honour of an Italian saint, Zita of Lucca (d.1272), in Linlithgow and Perth; and an anti-plague saint, Roch of Montpellier, was found in Edinburgh and Perth. The presence of other distinctive saints in the large burgh churches resulted from the interests of the merchant and craft guilds. The merchant guild in each town was commonly patron of the Holy Blood altar, while the bakers (Aubert), shoemakers (Crispin and Crispinian), metal workers (Eloi), masons (John the Evangelist) and other guilds typically dedicated altars to the internationally-recognised patrons of their crafts.¹⁶³

In general, local saints comprised a less significant proportion of the total dedications in the large burgh churches than the cathedrals, with few altars devoted to very local saints akin to the Devenick dedication in Aberdeen. The altars dedicated to Monan and Triduana in Dundee, which did have a blend of national, regional and local saints, and the Fergus altar in St Andrews, were the rare exceptions to this rule.¹⁶⁴ However, the overall range of national saints honoured in these burgh churches was limited. The most obvious trend was the broad popularity of three saints: Ninian and Andrew (throughout the period), and Duthac more especially from the 1420s. It was this same triumvirate, "Saint Andrew with his shored cross, St Trinnan of Quhytehorn and Doffin their demigod of Ross", who were identified as the patrons of the Scots by the English poet at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁵ This trio also appeared as dedicatees of the few new churches that were founded in the period. The burgh church of Newburgh in Fife, consecrated in 1508, was jointly dedicated

¹⁶³ While each craft had a particular patron, their dedications were sometimes made to other saints, for example the bakers' dedication to St Duthac in Dundee.

¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately no foundation information remains for the Monan and Triduana altars in Dundee. The Fergus altar was founded by William Carnis, rector of Glamis, where relics of that saint could be found. Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity*, 79. The connection between Fergus and Glamis would explain the choice of this fairly minor local saint.

¹⁶⁵ Weber, ed., *Battle of Flodden Field*, 27.

to Duthac, Katherine and Mary Magdalene.¹⁶⁶ Mary of Guelders' Trinity College in Edinburgh, founded in 1462, was dedicated jointly to Ninian and Mary.¹⁶⁷ James III's collegiate church at Restalrig (1487) was under the invocation of Andrew, Ninian and Duthac, as well as Triduana, Mary and Jerome.¹⁶⁸

Aside from the three saints mentioned above, Columba and Kentigern were the Scottish saints most commonly found in the large burgh churches. The founders of altars dedicated to these saints were almost exclusively clerics, with the Columban altars in Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and St Andrews under the direct patronage of members of the cathedral chapter at Dunkeld.¹⁶⁹ The only other local saints to feature in the large burgh churches were the royal patron Margaret (Perth and Dundee), Fergus (St Andrews), Monan (Dundee), Fillan (Perth and St Andrews), and Triduana (Dundee and St Andrews). There is no extant evidence of altars in the large burgh churches dedicated to Adrian, Baldred, Constantine, Kessog or Serf, saints whose feast days were marked consistently in the liturgical calendars from the period. The dedicatory saints of hospitals from this period show similar trends. The founding or contribution to a hospital for the poor, pilgrims, lepers or the sick was a charitable act which formed part of the good acts expected of an orthodox Christian. Only a small percentage of such foundations in late medieval Scotland were dedicated to local saints. Of the eighty-one that were founded in Scotland after 1296, only two in Glasgow (Ninian and Serf & Machutus), one at Kingcase near Ayr (Ninian), and a hospital in Caithness (Magnus) were dedicated to local intercessors.¹⁷⁰ Hospitals were more commonly dedicated to Mary (10%), Mary Magdalene (10%), John the Baptist (9%) and Leonard (7%).¹⁷¹

Evidence has also survived for chaplainry dedications in a number of medium sized churches (see Table 5 below), and in around fifty parish churches located in small towns and in rural parts of southern, central and eastern

166 Alexander Laing, ed, *Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh. Their History and Annals* (Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas, 1876), 156 & 512.

167 David Laing, ed. *Registrum Domus de Soltre, necnon Ecclesiae Collegiate S. Trinitatis prope Edinburgum... Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and other collegiate churches in Mid-Lothian* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1861), 64

168 *Ibid*, 280–90.

169 The Columba altars at Perth, Dundee, Edinburgh and St Andrews were founded by bishops and members of the cathedral chapter of Dunkeld. All altars dedicated to St Kentigern in burgh churches were also founded by clerics.

170 Ian B. Cowan & David Easson, eds, *Medieval religious houses, Scotland: with an appendix on the houses in the Isle of Man* (Edinburgh: Longman, 1976), 179, 180, 183 & 191.

171 *Ibid*, 162–200. Three or fewer hospitals were dedicated to SS Anne, Thomas of Canterbury, Peter, Paul, George, Nicholas, Laurence, James, Anthony, Katherine, as well as those more general designated as Maison Dieu (8), Holy Trinity (2), or simply as Almshouses (10) or Leper hospitals (8).

TABLE 5 *Altars and Chaplainries in medium sized Scottish burgh churches*

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ephemera etc.
1. Ayr (St John the Baptist)	Holy Trinity (b.1438), Mary, Holy Cross, Michael, Nicholas, Ninian, Peter (all b.1449), Christopher, Holy Blood (both b.1529). ¹⁷²		
2. Cambuskenneth (St Mary)	Ninian (b.1436), All Saints, Andrew, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Katherine, Lawrence (all b.1446). ¹⁷³		
3. Crail (St Mary)	Michael (1500), Stephen (b.1539), Holy Cross, James, John the Evangelist, Nicholas (all b.1560). ¹⁷⁴		
4. Cupar (St Katherine)	John the Baptist (b.1505), Mary (b.1532), James (b.1538), Michael (b.1540), Holy Blood, Andrew (both b.1550), Thomas (b.1552). ¹⁷⁵		
5. Dalkeith (St Nicholas)	Peter (1459), Mary (b.1468), John the Baptist (b.1481), Holy Cross (b.1509). ¹⁷⁶		

¹⁷² Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 343; James Paterson, ed, *Obit Book of the Church of St John the Baptist, Ayr* (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1848), 4, 42 & 24.

¹⁷³ William Fraser, ed, *Registrum monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth* (Edinburgh: Grampian Club, 1872), no. 209 & 214.

¹⁷⁴ RMS, ii, no. 2572; NRS Transcripts and photocopies of Miscellaneous Charters and Papers, RH1/2/353; James Kirk, ed, *The books of assumption of the thirds of benefices* (Oxford: British Academy, 1995), 65–66.

¹⁷⁵ StAUL St Andrews Burgh Charters and Miscellaneous Writs, B65/23/356c; NRS Prot Bk of James Androsen, 1535–48, NP1/5A, fol. 29r, 9r, 16v; StAUL Cupar, Court & Council Records, 1549–1554, B13/10/1, fol. 15, 53, 81.

¹⁷⁶ Laing, ed. *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, 314; CSSR, 1447–1471, no. 1329; NRS Miscellaneous Executry and Testamentary papers, RH9/8/1; McLeod, ed, *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1503–1513*, no. 564.

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ ephemera etc.
6. Dumfries (St Michael)	Nicholas (b.1394), Michael (b.1504), Holy Blood (1506), Gregory (1508). ¹⁷⁷		
7. Dunbar (St Baya)	Salvator (1501), Holy Cross, John the Baptist (both b.1504), Monan (1515), Mary (b.1559), Patrick (b.1560). ¹⁷⁸		
8. Edinburgh (St Cuthbert)	Anne (1486), Holy Trinity (b.1488), Ninian (b.1541). ¹⁷⁹		
9. Inverkeithing (St Peter)	Michael (1406), John the Baptist (1453), Katherine (b.1478), Holy Blood (1484), Lawrence (b.1495), Ninian (b.1512). ¹⁸⁰		
10. Irvine (St Mary)	Ninian (b.1418), Katherine (b.1418), Holy Cross (1419), Michael (1446), Peter (1455), Christopher (b.1540), John Baptist (b. 1540), Nicholas (b.1542), Holy Blood (b.1542). ¹⁸¹	Convall, Stephen and Sebastian (1477), Salvator and Thomas of Canterbury (1506). ¹⁸²	1446 Image of Michael. ¹⁸³

177 John Stuart, ed, *Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1841), 250–52, TA, ii, 164, RMS, ii, no. 3010 & 3335.

178 RMS, ii, nos. 2618 & 2789, Charles Harvey, ed, *Calendar of writs preserved at Yester House, 1166–1625* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society 1930), no. 373; NRS Dunbar Burgh Court and Council Records 1538–1566, GD1/413/15, fol. 51; NRS. Material relating to the parish: North Berwick, Oldhamstocks, Ormiston, Pencaitland, GD1/413/9, fol. 30.

179 RMS, ii, nos. 1692 & 1810, NRS Prot B.k of Edward Dickson, 1537–45, NP1/5B, fol. 139.

180 RMS, i, no. 888, NRS Inverkeithing parish church, letters of mortification 1453–1509, GD1/224/1, NRS Records of Inverkeithing Burgh, B34/20/8, RMS, ii, no. 1596, William Stephen, *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (Aberdeen: G & W Fraser, 1921), 236, Erskine Beveridge, ed, *Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488–1584* (Edinburgh: William Brown, 1917), no. 360.

181 John Sheddon-Dobie, ed., *Muniments of the Royal Burgh of Irvine* (Edinburgh: Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1890–1), 125–27, 136–37, 145–47, 185–87 & 189, CSSR, i, 165–66, RMS, iii, 2280.

182 Sheddon-Dobie, ed, *Muniments*, 148–53 & 158–60

183 *Ibid*, 136–37.

TABLE 5 *Altars and Chaplainries in medium sized Scottish burgh churches (cont.)*

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ephemera etc.
11. Largo	Mary (b.1496). ¹⁸⁴	John the Baptist and Evangelist (b.1503), Michael and Andrew (b.1503). ¹⁸⁵	
12. Leith (St Mary)	Peter (1490), Barbara (1499), Ninian (b.1556). ¹⁸⁶		
13. Montrose (SS Peter and Paul)	Holy Trinity (b.1450), James (b.1492), Sebastian (b.1502), Holy Blood (1531). ¹⁸⁷		
14. Musselburgh (St Michael)	Mary (b.1384), Ninian (b.1491), Holy Cross (b.1560). ¹⁸⁸		
15. North Berwick (St Andrew)	Mary (1491), Our Lady of Pity (1497), Ninian (b.1497), Sebastian (b.1545). ¹⁸⁹		
16. Renfrew (St James)	Thomas of Canterbury (b.1397), Christopher, Holy Cross, Thomas the Apostle, Mary, Bartholomew, Mary Magdalane (all b.1560). ¹⁹⁰	Conval, Ninian and Andrew (b.1508). ¹⁹¹	

184 *RMS*, ii, no. 2342,

185 *Ibid*, ii, nos. 2733 & 2825.

186 *Ibid*, ii, nos. 1972 & 2496, iv, no. 1134.

187 Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, ii, no. 44, *RMS*, ii, nos. 2113 & 2716, iii, no. 1146.

188 NRS Grant by John de Halyborton, Lord of Drylton, to Simon de Preston, Lord of Gourton, GD122/1/144, Donaldson, ed, *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485–1515*, no. 486, NRS Charter of George Prestoun of Craigmillar GD122/1/163.

189 *RMS*, ii, no. 2068, William Fraser, ed, *The Douglas Book* (Edinburgh: T. A Constable, 1885), iii, 165–166, NRS Protocol Books: Robert Lawder, 3 Feb 1539/1540–14 Dec 1562, B56/1/1, fol. 42.

190 *RMS*, ii, no. 2705, John. A. Dunn, *History of Renfrew* (Paisley: James Paton, 1971), 140–142.

191 *Ibid*, 142.

Church	Altars	Joint altars or chaplainries founded at other altars	Relics/ ephemera etc.
17. Yester (St Bothon)	Mary (b. 1447), Edmund (b.1456), Nicholas (1470), Ninian (b.1470), Holy Cross (b.1489). ¹⁹²		

Scotland.¹⁹³ The medium sized churches housed three to ten distinct chaplainries, while the smaller churches had one or two and their patrons were a combination of local burgesses and middle ranking and minor nobility.¹⁹⁴ What is

¹⁹² footnote text missing Harvey, ed, *Calendar of writs preserved at Yester House*, nos. 86, 116a, 153 & 229, *CSSR*, v, no. 1432.

¹⁹³ **Alloa**, Mary (1481), NRS Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie, GD124/1/529. **Airth**, Mary (1485), *RMS*, ii, no. 1628, **Arbuthnott**, Mary (1490), *RMS*, ii, no. 1987. **Borthwick**, Mary (b.1452), Harvey, ed, *Calendar of writs preserved at Yester House* nos. 106 & 107. **Cambusmichael**, Salvator (b.1528), John Durkan, ed, *Protocol Book of John Foular*, 1528–34 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1985), no. 63. **Carluke**, Mary (1487), *RMS*, ii, no. 2137. **Carrington**, Mary (b.1549), NRS Prot Bk of Thomas Stevin, 1548–1565, B30/1/5, fol. 7v. **Ceres**, Mary (1537), NRS Prot Bk of James Androsen, 1535–48, NP1/5A, fol. 8r. **Clackmannan**, Ninian (b.1549), John Anderson & William Angus, eds, *Protocol Book of Sir Alexander Gaw*, 1540–58 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1910), no. 34. **Collessie**, Lawrence (b.1451), *ER*, v, 473. **Corstorphine**, Holy Trinity (b.1475), Ann (1477), *RMS*, ii, nos. 3504 & 1320. **Cranshaws**, Ninian (b.1515), NRS Title deeds of the Swinton Family of Swinton, Berwickshire GD12/80. **Culter**, Michael (b.1502), *RSS*, i, no. 799. **Currie**, Katherine (b.1524), Wood, ed. *Protocol Book of John Foular*, 1514–28, iii, no. 595, Kentigern (1493), *RMS*, ii, no. 2154. **Dalmeny**, Cuthbert, Mary (b.1560), Kirk, ed, *The books of assumption of the thirds of benefices*, 149–50 & 154–55. **Deer**, Michael (1405), *ER*, iii, 629–31. **Douglas**, Mary (1483), *RMS*, ii, no. 1586. **Dumbarton**, Holy Cross (1383), James Dennistoun, ed, *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax* (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1833), no. 4. Mary (1501), *ER*, xi, 341–45. **Duns**, Mary (b.1560), NRS Title Deeds relating to land in Berwickshire, GD1/200/5. **Durisddeer**, Mary (1510), *RMS*, ii, no. 3507. **Dysart**, Ann (b.1549), NRS St Andrews, Register of Testaments, 1 Aug 1549–12 Dec 1551, CC20/4/1, fols. 15–16. **Edrom**, Mary (1500), *RMS*, ii, no. 3029. **Ellon**, Holy Cross (1380), Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, i, 134. **Falkirk**, Mary, Michael (both b.1527), NRS Haddington Burgh Protocol Books, James Meldrum, 1520–33, B30/1/1, fol. 110v. **Fordyce**, Mary (1516), *RMS*, iii, no. 95. **Forgue**, Mary (1535), *RMS*, ii, no. 1535. **Glamis**, Thomas of Canterbury (1487), *RMS*, ii, no. 2223. ¹⁹⁴ **Kettins**, Mary (1532), *RSS*, ii, no. 1543. **Kinnell**, Mary (1509), *RMS*, ii, no. 3860. **Kirkcaldy**, Holy Blood (b.1560), Lachlan Macbean, ed, *Kirkcaldy Burgh Records* (Kirkcaldy: Fifeshire

striking about altars in this type of church is the sheer number of dedications to Mary. In the smaller towns and rural parishes, the overwhelming proportion of altars and chaplainries from the late fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century were founded in her honour. Patrons of these churches also showed little interest in fashionable new international cults. Although dedications to Anne, the Holy Cross and Holy Blood were common, there is less evidence for enthusiasm for other new Marian and Passion cults like the Five Wounds, or for saints like Roch and Zita who were fashionable in the fifteenth century. The other saints to whom altars were most commonly dedicated in these churches were a fairly small range of biblical and pan-European figures. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, Andrew, Michael, James and Peter were the most common biblical saints, while the most popular international saints were Christopher, Katherine, Lawrence and Nicholas. In these churches dedications could also be found to Sebastian, the older and longer-established of the two anti-plague saints.

The most striking feature of these smaller churches, aside from the overwhelming popularity of Mary, was the number of dedications to St Ninian. Altars in honour of the saint of Whithorn could be found in urban and rural parish churches across southern, central and eastern Scotland. The patrons of these altars ranged from local burgesses to clerics and minor nobility, making

Advertiser, 1908), 35–36, Michael (1545), William Muir, ed, *Notices of the Local Records of Dysart* (Glasgow: Maitland Club 1853), 14–15. **Kinghorn Easter**, James (b.1485), Donaldson, ed, *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485–1515*, no. 12. **Kinnoul**, Ninian (b.1518), NRS Records of the King James VI Hospital, Perth, Altarages, GD79/4/114. **Kirriemuir**, Colmóc (b.1528), *RMS*, iii, no. 764. **Leuchars**, Holy Cross (b.1476), *Abstract of the Prot Bk of Stirling, 1469–84*, 31. **Liberton**, John the Baptist (b.1499), NRS Papers of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, GD103/2/45. **Lochgoilhead**, Mary (1512), *RSS*, i, no. 2429. **Makerston**, Mary (b.1520), Theresa Maley & Walter Eliot, eds, *Selkirk Protocol Books, 1511–47* (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1993), A35. **Paisley**, Ann (b.1540), *RSS*, ii, no. 3798, Ninian (b.1548), *RSS*, iii, no. 2991. **Prestonkirk/Linton**, Mary, John the Baptist (b.1560), NRS GD1/413/11 Material relating to the parish: Prestonkirk, Saltoun, Soutra, Spott, Stenton, fol. 21. **Saltoun**, Mary Magdalene, Holy Cross (both b.1560), Cosmo Innes, ed, *Liber S. Mari de Dryburgh* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1847), nos. 188 & 190. **St Ninians**, Sebastian (b.1550), *RSS*, iv, no. 807. **Sanquhar**, Holy Blood (1519), *RMS*, iii, no. 862. **Selkirk**, Holy Cross (b.1528), Ninian (b.1535), John Imrie et al., eds, *Burgh Court Book of Selkirk, 1503–45* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1960), ii, 96, 149. **Seton**, Mary (b.1490), Donaldson, ed, *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485–1515*, no. 450. **Tibbermore**, Ninian (1532), *RMS*, iii, no. 1341. **Torphichen**, Mary, Ninian (both b.1560), James Beveridge & James Russell, eds, *Protocol Book of James Foulis, 1546–1555 and Nicol Thounis, 1559–1564* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1927), i, nos. 100, 101 & 192). **Tranent**, Thomas (b.1521), Wood, ed. *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514–28*, iii, no. 58. **Kentigern** (b.1532), NRS Edinburgh Commissary Court. Register of Testaments, 1515–1532, CC8/8/1A, fols 34–35. **Wigtown**, Ninian (1495), *RMS*, ii, no. 2273.

Ninian the only Scottish saint to whom popular interest can be compared with international figures like Nicholas or Katherine. Ninian apart, dedications to Scottish saints were less common in these smaller churches than in the cathedrals or large towns. While there were altars dedicated to Kentigern in Currie and Tranent, other saints like Duthac or Columba, to whom dedications could be found in the larger towns and in the cathedrals, did not attract the patronage of the populations of the smaller burghs. The isolated location of these churches, and limited contact with the continent, also failed produce a greater interest in local or regional patrons as might perhaps be expected. The two altars found in Irvine and Renfrew in honour of St Convall (Comgall), whose cult did not spread much beyond Lanarkshire, and one dedicated to a local saint (Colmoc) in Kirriemuir, were unusual in this regard. Altars dedicated to two saints from elsewhere in the British Isles, Patrick in Dunbar and Edmund at Yester, are also noteworthy, but can be explained by the personal interests of local families.¹⁹⁵

4 John, Mary and Mungo. Names in Late Medieval Scotland

There is considerable debate as to what influenced the choice of children's names in the middle ages. The date of birth, if it fell on a saint's day, may have played a role, and godparents and local clergy may also have had some influence on the choice of name.¹⁹⁶ Personal names, with their local and regional variation, do provide a useful source for exploring the growth and spread of new cults within a particular region or community. Recent studies have used names, in conjunction with other sources, to explore the popularity in late medieval Scotland of saints George and Cuthbert. These studies have shown that popular interest in these saints in Scotland was able to override the strong political connections that they had with England.¹⁹⁷ This approach was made possible by the fact that George and Cuthbert were almost unknown as a forenames or surnames in

195 Patrick had been a common first name among the earls of Dunbar, NRS. Material relating to the parish: North Berwick, Oldhamstocks, Ormiston, Pencaitland, GD1/413/9, fol. 30. The dedication in Yester was founded either by Edmund Hay of Tallow or his widow and was dedicated to his name saint, Harvey, ed, *Calendar of writs preserved at Yester House*, no. 134.

196 Wilson, Introduction, 14–15. However, the difficulties of identifying the precise motivations that lay behind the choice of a name have prompted Robert Swanson to state that they are “amongst the most problematic (of sources), although not without utility”, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, 168–70.

197 Steve Boardman, “The cult of St George in Scotland”, in *Saints' cults in the Celtic World*, 146–159; Tom Turpie, “A Monk from Melrose? St Cuthbert and the Scots in the later middle ages, c. 1371–1560”, *Innes Review* 62.1 (2011), 47–69.

Scotland before the fourteenth century. Naming patterns are therefore of limited use for the exploring of popularity of Andrew, Columba, Fergus and Margaret, as these were forenames that were too widespread and long standing to indicate an acute interest in those saints.¹⁹⁸ The names of most local saints were however, extremely rare in Scotland before the fifteenth century, and their appearance is therefore a more reliable indication of interest in the cult.¹⁹⁹ A brief survey of late naming patterns therefore provides some useful pointers as to how widespread interest was in specific cults, and in Scottish saints in general.²⁰⁰

The Scottish saint whose name was in most common use in the later middle ages was Ninian. Almost unknown as a personal name prior to the fifteenth century, the name was found in the south, particularly in Galloway and the Edinburgh area, with a smaller group in the borders.²⁰¹ Further small groups of individuals named Ninian were found in and around Glasgow, Fife and central Scotland with the name far less common in the north. Next most common was Kentigern/Mungo. Although never widely popular in the later middle ages there seems to have been an expansion in the range of the use of Kentigern as a personal name in the period after c.1450. Occurrences of Mungo were distributed over a narrower spatial range than Ninian, with the vast majority of the men named after the saint found south of the Forth/Clyde line, mainly in and around Glasgow and Edinburgh. The only other names of Scottish saints to occur with any frequency were Duthac, Constantine and Kessog. The use of Duthac as a forename was also almost unknown in the eastern and southern lowlands of Scotland prior to the

198 Margaret was a common European forename and is more likely to have resulted from interest in Margaret of Antioch. Fergus was a broadly popular name in the Gaelic areas of Scotland and did not necessarily bear any relation to the saint's cult. Malcolm originated in Gaelic as *Mael Coluim*, meaning servant, slave or follower of Columba; however by the later middle ages it is unclear whether this devotional meaning was still a powerful factor for the choice of name, especially in the non-Gaelic world.

199 The POMS project database includes five men named Baldred, one Kentigern and one possible Duthac with no men bearing the other names listed above. The Paradox of Medieval Scotland, 1093–1286. www.poms.ac.uk.

200 The sources consulted for this survey included the relevant *RMS*, *RSS*, *RRS*, *ER*, *CPL* & *CSSR* volumes, Donald, E.R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae medii aevi ad annum 1638* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 2003) & idem, *The heads of religious houses in Scotland from twelfth to sixteenth centuries* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 2001), all printed chartularies of individual Scottish religious houses, all printed chartularies of individual families, all printed protocol books, all printed burgh records up to 1560, all volumes of Robert Pitcairn, ed, *Criminal trials in Scotland, from A.D. M.CCCC.LXXXVIII to A.D. M.DC.XXIV embracing the entire reigns of James IV. and V., Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833).

201 Thomas O. Clancy, "The Real St Ninian", *Innes Review* 52 (2001), 12.

late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁰² In that period a small group of men named Duthac could be found in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Doune and Jedburgh.²⁰³ The spatial and temporal distribution of these names correlates with the foundation of altars dedicated to the saint in Aberdeen and Edinburgh between 1359 and 1438 and along the east coast in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

One problem with the appearance of the name Constantine, whose shrine was located in Govan near Glasgow, is differentiating between its use in honour of the saint, or to refer to the three Scottish monarchs who bore the name in the ninth and tenth centuries.²⁰⁴ It was never a common name in late medieval Scotland with a small cluster centred in the west around Glasgow and a further small group located in Edinburgh and Lothian. Use of the name Kessog, or its side form Kessan, is more reliably indicative of an interest in the saint. Kessog was the patron of Lennox where, according to the Aberdeen Breviary, he was murdered near Loch Lomond c.600 AD.²⁰⁵ It was an extremely rare personal name in the period, but a number of individuals had the forename or surname Kessan which was a variant of Kessog.²⁰⁶ The vast majority of these individuals could be found in Lennox or the surrounding areas with a small cluster in Menteith. These patterns hint at a greater degree of local interest in the cults of saints like Kessog and Constantine than was evident from ecclesiastical dedications. However, this must not be overstated and there is little indication that either saint had a broadly popular or national cult in the period. Apart from the examples mentioned above, local saints made little impact on the naming stock of the late medieval kingdom. There were very few if any Scots named Adrian, Baldred, Monan, Palladius or Triduana in the later middle ages.²⁰⁷

While it is clear that names like Ninian and Mungo were more common in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, they played only a minor role in the overall naming stock of late medieval Scotland. David Ditchburn's survey of the naming patterns of Scottish migrant workers in north-west England in 1440 noted

202 A possible appearance of the name is a *Duftah* who was the Celi De abbot of Lochleven in 1128, Archibald C. Lawrie, ed, *Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D. 1153* (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and sons, 1905), no. 80.

203 Turpie, "Our friend in the north", 14–17.

204 Constantine I (862–877), Constantine II (900–943) and Constantine III (995–997).

205 Macquarrie, ed., *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 76–79 & 374–376. The close relationship between the saint and the local comital line was emphasised in a 1316 charter in which Malcolm, earl of Lennox (d.1333), referred to Kessog as "our patron", Duncan ed. *The Acts of Robert I*, no. 81.

206 George F. Black, *Surnames of Scotland* (New York: Public Library, 1974), 395–6.

207 Rare exceptions to this are Baldred Halliburton, NRS, Papers of Clerk family of Penicuik, GD18/4, Baldred Blacadder of Tulliallan, 1480, RMS, ii, no.1440 and Monan Hog from Aberdeenshire, NRS, Title Deeds from Castle Fraser, GD1/661/28.

the striking absence of men and women named after native saints. Among the 200 men recorded in 1440, by far the most common name was John (34%), followed by Thomas (12%), William (12%) and Robert (8%).²⁰⁸ A list of 506 shipwrights and mariners in James IV's navy in 1513 suggests that little had changed in the intervening half century. The most common name by far was still John (26%), followed by Thomas, James, William (each 9%), Robert (6%) and David (5%).²⁰⁹ None of the sailors, wrights or gunners were named after Scottish saints, with the popularity of Robert and James indicating that royal rather than religious fashion had a much stronger impact on the choice of a child's name. A survey of the 1375 men who made up the first group of reformed clergy in Scotland after 1560 suggests slight changes in the intervening half century. The most popular names remained John (22%), William (11%), James (10%), Thomas (8%) and Alexander (7%).²¹⁰ However, within this group there were twelve men named Ninian, and four named Mungo. Although making up less than 1% of the total, it is clear that these two names had grown in popularity by the sixteenth century. Overall the trends in naming patterns provide no evidence to suggest a general rediscovery of Scottish saints in the period. They reinforce the impression that the most significant changes in the later middle ages were the growing interest in Ninian, the emergence of the Duthac cult on a national scale and a continuing, or possibly revived, regional interest in Kentigern.

5 Nationalism or Localism? Placing Devotion to Scottish Saints in Context

The saints most loved and trusted by late medieval Scots were a typically Western European balance of Marian, Christocentric, biblical, international and local intercessors. Dedications to Mary and Christ could be found in all Scottish churches, alongside those in honour of scriptural figures (Peter & Paul, Michael etc.), corporate patrons (Eloi, Crispinian), adopted Pan-European saints (Katherine, Anthony, Giles), new international cults (Zita of Lucca, Roch) and

²⁰⁸ Ditchburn, "The 'McRoberts Thesis'", 184–5.

²⁰⁹ The 506 names were those not identified as French, Spanish or German, *TA*, iv, Appendix, 502–09. The men were listed under the headings; Ship Wrights, Mariners of the 'Great Ship', Mariners of the 'Margaret', Mariners of the 'James', Boatman of the English Boat (a prize), Boatman of the 'Great Boat', Boatman of the 'little boat', Gunners of the 'Great Ship', Mariners of the little boat called the 'Gabriel', Gunners and Gunners of the 'Margaret'.

²¹⁰ Charles H. Haws, ed, *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540–74* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1972), 251–323.

local saints. The combination of saints mentioned by Lindsay in *The Monarchie* reflected the most cosmopolitan devotional fashions which could be found in Scotland's major trading burghs. In the smaller towns and rural parishes a narrower, if still remarkably cosmopolitan, range of biblical, European and Scottish saints were honoured by the faithful. Five saints that the Aberdeen Breviary would have recognised as Scottish, "Ringane" (Ninian), "Duthow" (Duthac), "Andrew", "Tredwell" (Triduana) and "Mongose" (Mungo/Kentigern), feature in Lindsay's poem.²¹¹ It is clear that while saints who were believed to have lived and died in Scotland had a significant role in the devotions of late medieval Scots, there was no general rediscovery of national saints as a group in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The proportion of these saints in Lindsay's poem, around a fifth of the total, is an accurate reflection of the share that they had in Scottish religious practice as a whole in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The concept of a church- and crown-led campaign to inculcate interest in Scottish saints may also have been overblown. McRoberts and others have argued that this ostensibly nationalist trend in religious practice was fostered by the church, and there is some evidence of a greater engagement with Scottish saints by clerics from the late fourteenth century to the reformation.²¹² However, prior to the ultimately unsuccessful Aberdeen Breviary project, there is little indication of Scottish clerics viewing the cult of the saints through a nationalistic lens. The failure of this project is perhaps the clearest evidence that interest in Scottish saints as a group was, as Ditchburn has commented, an "Aberdonian idiosyncrasy".²¹³ Elsewhere the liturgical calendars, chronicle histories, clerical altar dedications and the promotion of patron saints by cathedral chapters, point to an overriding concern with the diocesan, institutional and local rather than the national. In the later middle ages the religious fervour of the laity was increasingly directed toward local forms of religious devotion, such as the parish and its church.²¹⁴ Promotional efforts, such as those undertaken by Scheves at Fordoun or the cathedral chapter at Dunkeld, were an attempt to direct this religious fervour and patronage along particular paths.

211 Laing, ed., *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 27–30.

212 McRoberts, "The Scottish Church and Nationalism", 3–14, Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, 234.

213 Ditchburn, 'The 'McRoberts Thesis'', 177.

214 Duffy, "The dynamics of pilgrimage in late medieval England", 165–6.

Kind Neighbours: Ninian and the Saints of Scotland in the Later Middle Ages

God and St Kentigern, St Romanus and St Andrew,
save us this day, and everyday, from God's grace and
from the foul death which is killing the English.¹

According to one late fourteenth-century English chronicler, Scots raiding the north of England in the plague year of 1379 were wont to invoke the protection of the above trio of saints against the dreaded pestilence.² In the later middle ages, Scottish saints like Kentigern came to play a more visible role in the liturgy and were similarly given a more prominent function in the history of the kingdom, as described by Walter Bower and others. The extent to which these developments represented an expansion of interest in these saints in the fifteenth century is unclear. Although popular interest in saints is difficult to measure for the early and central middle ages, recent scholarship on royal and aristocratic patronage in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has suggested that national saints remained a significant part of the devotional landscape in those periods.³ The distinctive element of devotion to Scottish saints in late medieval Scotland was not then their general rediscovery as a group, but the success of a particular range of cults. The best loved Scottish saint of the later middle ages was Ninian, while Duthac, Triduana, Monan and Fillan had fleeting periods of popularity which took them beyond local devotion. Combined with Andrew, Columba and Kentigern, these saints accounted for the vast majority of recorded devotion to Scottish saints in the late medieval kingdom.

Devotion to the vast majority of medieval saints, including the bulk of the eighty-one holy men and women identified as Scottish in the Aberdeen Breviary, never spread beyond the hinterland of the shrine or sacred location associated

1 John Taylor et al., eds, *St Albans Chronicle: The Chronicle Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, 1, 1376–94 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003), 310–311.

2 “Romanus” is in all likelihood a corruption of St Ninian. Rinian, Trinian and Ronian were all common spellings of his name in English and Scottish sources from the later middle ages.

3 Matthew Hammond, “Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland”, in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, eds. Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010); 61–86, Penman, ‘The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury’, 346–71.

with the cult. The spread of devotion to any saint over a wide area was always then the exception rather than the norm. A number of factors could explain the unusual success of a cult beyond this hinterland at a particular time, or with a specific group of people. These could range from a reputation for the miraculous, connection to a particular ailment or miracle type, royal or other prominent patronage and promotion and management by the shrine custodians. We have already seen how a combination of such factors, the alliance between the bishops of St Andrews and the Scottish crown in the fourteenth century, played a significant role in the emergence of Andrew as the patron saint of the kingdom. Such patronage would combine in varying degrees with other factors such as the reputation for the miraculous, fashion, and promotion, to explain the success of the most popular Scottish saints in the later middle ages.

1 The Ninian Debate

The development of the cult of St Ninian in early medieval Scotland is an ongoing historical problem, which, alongside questions over the historicity of the saint, forms the crux of what has become at times a heated debate. The early stages of this dispute surrounded the question of whether Ninian was a late Roman bishop ministering to an established Christian community in the fourth century or a missionary and monastic founder with a sixth-century provenance.⁴ More recent contributions to the debate have suggested that Ninian never existed as such. They argue that he was a composite saint, fashioned by later hagiographers from fragments of the careers of several earlier holy men.⁵ This interpretation, that the cult was based upon an image created first by the Northumbrian rulers of Galloway in the eighth to tenth centuries and later developed and promoted by the reformed monastic centre at Whithorn in the twelfth century, has received general acceptance amongst modern scholars, although not without a number of dissenting voices.⁶ Ninian's origins are, however, only contentious to the modern historian. In the later middle ages Scottish chroniclers from Vairemont to Boece confidently placed the

4 John MacQueen, ed, *St Nynia* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1990), Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland*, 3–4 & 51–54.

5 Wooding, “St Ninian; archaeology and the Dossier of the saint”, 9–10; Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania* (Whithorn: Whithorn Trust, 2004), 1–4; Clancy, “The Big Man, the Footsteps and the Fissile saint”, 5–6.

6 Higgitt “From Bede to Rabelais”, 187; Clancy, “The Real St Ninian”, 1–29. For the Northumbrian influence upon the cult see also James E. Fraser, “Northumbrian Whithorn and the making of St Ninian”, *Innes Review* 54 (2002): 40–59.

career of the saint in the later fourth century.⁷ In doing so these writers were following the chronology set out by the *Vita Niniani*, a life of the saint composed by the Cistercian monk Aelred of Rievaulx in the second half of the twelfth century.⁸ An abridged version of the *Vita Niniani* was translated into Scots in c.1400, with the addition of a series of fascinating miracle stories.⁹ There is no evidence to suggest that Ninian's late medieval devotees, much like the Scottish journalists in 2010, had any qualms over the saint's origins.

Surviving place-name evidence, and a series of church and chapel dedications, indicate that Ninian was a popular saint in Scotland from the tenth to thirteenth centuries.¹⁰ These names and dedications were concentrated in the southwest close to Whithorn, but could be found as far afield as Orkney and Shetland.¹¹ This early cult was however, dwarfed by the popularity of the saint, and the political importance of Ninian and his shrine, in the later middle ages. As we have seen, Whithorn was the only Scottish shrine to attract an international clientele in this period; altars dedicated to the saint could be found in churches across the kingdom, and by the fifteenth century the saint had developed into an informal national patron. Passing references to the success of the cult in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have suggested that crown patronage and promotion by the monastic and episcopal centre at Whithorn explain fully both the popularity of Ninian, and the evolution of the saint into a national patron.¹² The late medieval cult was however more complex than this narrative suggests, and it would be a number of interlinked factors that contributed to the remarkable success of the cult at home and abroad.

2 Ninian and the Scottish Crown

Royal patronage, particularly during the reign of James IV, is the context in which the late medieval Ninian cult is best known. Ninian was not strictly a

7 *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 86–87; *Chron. Wyntoun*, iii, 461; *Chron. Bower*, ii, 25; *Chron. Maior*, 66–67; *Chron. Boece*, i, 271.

8 Forbes, ed. *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, 1–27.

9 Metcalfe, ed. *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 304–45.

10 James M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Non-Scriptural Dedications* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1914), 23–35; William J. Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1926), 293–7; Barrow, *Saint Ninian and Pictomania*, 3.

11 North Ronaldsay in Orkney, known in Norse as “Rinansay”, and St Ninian’s Isle on Shetland. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, 34–5; Watson, *A History of Celtic Place names*, 293–4.

12 Clancy, “Scottish Saints and National Identities”, 400–404.

royal saint in the way that Margaret, and to some extent Andrew, were in the later middle ages. Ninian was a peripheral figure in the earliest versions of the Scottish historical tradition, and was only fully incorporated into the narrative in the sixteenth-century chronicles of Maior and Boece. The Scottish crown was also initially slow to recognise and embrace the growing popularity of Ninian and his development into an informal national patron. The first period of significant royal sponsorship of the cult occurred during the reign of Robert I.¹³ The Bruce family had a complex relationship with Whithorn, which lay close to its ancestral lands in the southwest. Bruce partisans had even burned the town during the turbulent period that followed the death of Alexander III in 1286.¹⁴ This action, in addition to a long tradition of antagonism to the Scottish crown and more recent loyalty to their Balliol lords, made Galloway one of the most consistently hostile regions to the new Bruce dynasty after 1306.¹⁵ An attempt to exert Bruce control over the area in 1307 had ended disastrously with the capture and subsequent execution of two of Robert's brothers, Alexander and Thomas.¹⁶ Thereafter the pacification of the region was left to the king's brother, Edward (d.1318) who combined military intimidation with patronage of the most important ecclesiastical centre in the region in his attempt to win over the Gallovidians. After a successful raid in 1308, Edward, now styled lord of Galloway, made a series of grants to Whithorn.¹⁷ Following the death of Edward in Ireland in 1318, Robert continued this dual approach.¹⁸ In 1325 the king issued a general confirmation of the possessions of the priory of Whithorn, combining those from the thirteenth century with more recent donations by

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- 13 The only recorded royal patronage of Whithorn before 1286 was a confirmation of the priory's properties on the Isle of Man in 1275. Simpson, ed, *Handlist of the Acts of Alexander III*, no. 157.
 - 14 Duncan ed. *Acts of Robert I*, no. 275; Daphne Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places. St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1994), 149–153; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 170–1.
 - 15 *Ibid*, 178–181. The strategic importance of Galloway to the Bruces was twofold, firstly as a problem area with potential manpower and other resources and secondly, after 1316, as part of their plans for a second front in Ireland. Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces, Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306–1328* (East Linton: John Donald, 1997), 166–206.
 - 16 The two brothers were captured in Galloway and sent to Carlisle where they were executed in 1307. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 170–1.
 - 17 These grants included churches, lands, burghal rights, wax, salmon fisheries and port tolls. Duncan ed. *Acts of Robert I*, no. 275.
 - 18 Richard Oram, "Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway: South-West Scotland and the Wars of Independence", *Dumfries and Galloway Transactions* 67 (1992), 29–47.

his brother and his trusted lieutenant, Thomas Randolph.¹⁹ On 1 April 1329, Robert travelled to Whithorn, becoming the first Scottish monarch on record to visit the shrine.²⁰ While the pilgrimage to the southwest was an opportunity to demonstrate royal power in the region, as we will discuss below, more specific intercessory motives may also have prompted the visit by a king in the throes of his final illness.²¹

Direct royal interest in Whithorn stalled following Robert's death.²² The saint and shrine would only again become the beneficiaries of consistent royal patronage from the 1450s, while regular royal pilgrimages to Whithorn only commenced in the 1460s. In 1451 James II made a series of grants to Whithorn, taking the priory and its lands from the jurisdiction of the major local magnate family, the Black Douglases.²³ In 1455, the lordship of Galloway was annexed to the crown, and for the rest of his brief reign James continued to be a major patron of the shrine.²⁴ This close relationship survived the untimely death of the king in 1460, and was gradually expanded to include royal visits to Whithorn and other forms of direct patronage of the saint and shrine. In 1461, James III became the first reigning monarch to visit Whithorn since 1329, travelling to the shrine in the company of his mother, Mary of Guelders.²⁵ Mary proved to be a strong supporter of the ambitious prior of Whithorn, William Douglas, backing his application for a papal indulgence for visitors to the church in 1462.²⁶ The widowed queen also displayed her personal commitment to the saint in the same year by founding Trinity College in Edinburgh in honour of

19 Duncan, ed, *Acts of Robert I*, no. 275. Towards the end of his reign the king also made a personal grant of the church of Kells to the Archdeacon of Whithorn, apparently in recompense for the damage to his church during the wars, but perhaps also as further compensation for the Bruce family's actions in the 1280s and 90s, *RMS*, i, Appendix 1, no. 20.

20 Robert was at Whithorn on 1–4 of April. Duncan ed, *Acts of Robert I*, 157; Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 319.

21 Penman, *David II*, 28–29.

22 Although David was not an obvious patron, his second wife Margaret Logie visited the shrine at least once in 1365, *ER*, ii, 226.

23 *RMS*, ii, no. 453.

24 James added to his earlier gifts in 1459, giving the priory the towns of Whithorn and Clachan in free barony. Innes & Thomson, eds, *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii, 41–3, *RMS*, ii, no. 698. In 1450 James had also confirmed a statute recently made by the general council for the decoration and furnishing of the Ninian chapel in Bruges and for the up-keep of one chaplain in the church of the Carmelite friars in that town, *ibid*, ii, no. 392.

25 *ER*, vii, 78.

26 *CSSR*, 1433–1447, no. 915.

both the Virgin Mary and Ninian.²⁷ As an adult, James visited the shrine in 1473 and 1474 accompanied by his wife Margaret of Denmark, and, like his mother, would include Ninian amongst the dedicatees of his own personal foundation at Restalrig in 1487.²⁸ James clearly considered Ninian to be one of his personal patrons, noting him in a list of his favourite saints alongside Mary, Duthac, Jerome, Triduana and Andrew in the Restalrig foundation charter.²⁹

On his accession to the throne in 1488, James IV inherited two generations of personal and political engagement with Ninian and Whithorn, encountering by the 1490s the most vibrant cult based around a native saint in Scotland. The inclusion of devotion to Ninian as an important part of the annual cycle of crown religious observance can be traced to his reign, about the same time as Ninian was fully embraced by the national church. James visited the shrine annually from 1491, restoring and gifting two reliquaries to Whithorn, and he marked the saint's feast day with regular oblations at Ninian altars and chapels in Leith, Stirling, Linlithgow and Blackness.³⁰ His son, James V, also visited the shrine on at least five occasions in the 1520s and 1530s, and referred to his personal commitment to the cult in a series of letters.³¹ Royal belief in the efficacy of the saint should not be underestimated, and was readily apparent in the epic pilgrimage that took place in March 1507. In that month, James IV walked the 200 miles from Edinburgh to Whithorn in eight days. John Leslie suggested that this visit was undertaken in a climate of uncertainty over the health of his queen and newborn heir.³²

The important role that royal patronage of Ninian and Whithorn played in the integration of Galloway into the Scottish kingdom in the later middle ages has been stressed and rightly so.³³ However, the correlation between this royal patronage and the wider success of the Ninian cult in late medieval Scotland is

27 Laing, ed. *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, 57.

28 *TA*, i, 29, 44; *ER*, viii, 215; Laing, ed. *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, 282. The king also granted some lands to Whithorn priory in 1473 and founded a chaplainry at the Ninian altar in the burgh church of Stirling, *RMS*, ii, no. 1134. The chaplainry dedication is first attested during the reign of Mary I (1542–67) and was undated but said to have occurred during the reign of James III, *RSS*, iv, no. 2985.

29 Laing, ed. *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, 282.

30 These gifts were made regularly during the king's reign. Typically in 1512 the King made offerings at Blackness in March and June, at Leith in September and Stirling in July, *TA*, iv, 185, 187, 175, 377 & 190.

31 The king was at Whithorn in 1526, November 1529, July 1532, June 1533 and August 1536.

32 The young prince would only live to his first birthday. Cody & Murison, eds. *Historie of Scotland, written by John Leslie*, ii, 123; *TA*, iii, 287–288 & 372–374.

33 Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, 179–82.

less apparent. Ninian was not fully embraced by the governmental structures of church and crown until the late fifteenth century, and for much of the later middle ages the cult operated on the peripheries of the Scottish political establishment. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the cult expanded across Scotland and was embraced by groups of Scots living abroad, it was without a royal patron. Although the two separate periods of royal patronage in early fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries would have contributed to the domestic and international status of the cult, and encouraged pilgrimage to his shrine, they were not the major catalyst for the success of the saint in Scotland during the period. It would be Ninian's blend of specific and general functions, consistent reputation for working miracles, and active promotion by the monastic centre at Whithorn, that best explain his popularity both in Scotland and beyond.

3 Miracles and Shrine Management at Whithorn

The most significant of the many types of miracles and ailments that were associated with Ninian was his reputation for freeing people from captivity. This particular trait does not feature in the textual or visual images of Ninian that have survived from the period prior to the Wars of Independence.³⁴ The earliest textual reference to the association between Ninian and the rescue miracle appears in the translated version of the *Vita Niniani*, which included three miracle stories related to rescue and said to have occurred in the second part of the Wars of Independence (1332–1357). In the first story, Ninian intervened to save a Gallovidian lord from ambush by English forces.³⁵ The second miracle saw the saint save an English criminal from execution, while in the third he intervened to help a Scotsman captured by an English raiding party, and his sickly English captor.³⁶ The connection between Ninian and the rescue

34 There are no allusions to it in the *MNE* or *Vita Niniani* or in the limited range of visualisations of the saint from this period. Higgitt, "From Bede to Rabelais", 194–95.

35 Metcalfe, ed., *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 327–29. The nobleman was Fergus MacDowell, a landowner in Kirkcudbright and Dumfries who was rewarded in 1357 for his support of the Bruce party. *RMS*, i, App ii, nos. 835 & 1007.

36 Metcalfe, ed., *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 331–5 & 335–42. The first miracle is a fairly typical version of the hanged man miracle topos, explored at length by Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged man. A Story of Miracle, Memory and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: University Press, 2004), 42–52. The second miracle saw an English officer cured of lameness and pain, but also saw him blinded for doubting Ninian's effectiveness as an intercessor.

miracle was first depicted on seals belonging to the bishops of Galloway, priors of Whithorn and the local burgh council in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³⁷ The images on these seals show the saint holding empty fetters or chains. This would become the standard symbol of the saint by the fifteenth century and can be seen in various forms in two books of hours held in the Edinburgh University Library and the British Library; in a prayer book belonging to Robert Blackadder; in a primer belonging to Andrew Lundy; and on a wall painting in the church of Fowlis Easter in Angus.³⁸ Although there are no chains in the main image of Ninian from the altarpiece belonging to the Scottish merchants in Elsinore, in one of the scenes from the life of the saint painted on the wings, he is shown visiting prisoners.³⁹

It has been suggested that the broken fetters in these images of Ninian referenced his efforts to stop slave trading in the fourth century, a trait mentioned in his earliest legends.⁴⁰ The fourteenth-century provenance of the connection between Ninian and the rescue miracle means that we can disregard this suggestion. The development of this skill was a reaction to the demand for such miracles, which was common across war-torn Europe in the fourteenth century.⁴¹ The two miracles included in the *Legends* suggest that while this reputation would have had the most direct appeal for soldiers, the increasing targeting of non-combatants in late medieval warfare meant that Ninian was relevant to all those affected by war. A prayer in the late fifteenth century Arbuthnott Missal suggests that protection from natural or man-made maritime dangers, a subset of the rescue miracle type, was also part of the saint's repertoire.⁴² The missal included a prayer to the saint urging Ninian to free "Christians from their dreadful chains" on "land and sea".⁴³ The Scottish mercantile fraternity, with its reliance on overseas trade, was especially vulnerable to piracy and the vagaries

37 The first seal to show the chains was that of Bishop Thomas Spens (1450–58), and fetters were also included in the chapter and burgh seal of Whithorn from the sixteenth century. Stevenson & Wood, eds. *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 81, 149 & 151.

38 EUL, MS 42, fol. 72; BL, Add MS 39761, fol. 97; NLS, MS 10271; Anderson, "Andrew Lundy's Primer", 42–3; Apted and Robertson, "Late fifteenth century Church paintings", 273.

39 Riis, *Scottish-Danish relations*, 196–97; Hay, "A Scottish Altar Piece in Copenhagen", 5–6.

40 Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*, 49–50.

41 Higgitt, "From Bede to Rabelais", 194–5; Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century*, 2–18.

42 Alexander P. Forbes, ed., *Liber ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott: Missale secundum usum Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotia* (Burntisland: Pitsligo, 1864), 369. For this miracle type see Goodich, *Violence and Miracle*, 2–4.

43 Forbes, ed, *Liber ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott*, 369.

of international diplomacy.⁴⁴ Ninian's adoption by this group is clear from the actions of expatriate mercantile communities in Flanders and Denmark who, unlike their student or monastic counterparts, dedicated their communal altars and chapels to the saint of Whithorn, while there were dedications to the saint in all the major Scottish ports.⁴⁵ The choice of Ninian by these communities may well have been at least partly dictated by his more specific function as a patron of the seas.

Like most popular saints of the later middle ages, Ninian's reputation was not merely focused on one particular misfortune or ailment, but was broad ranging and comprehensive.⁴⁶ One key attribute required by all successful cults was a reputation for healing. Like a number of saints, most notably Lazarus and Leonard, Ninian came to be associated with the cure of leprosy.⁴⁷ The connection between Ninian and the disease is mentioned in the earliest life of the saint, the eighth-century *Miracula Nynia Episcopi*.⁴⁸ This theme was expanded in Aelred's *Vita Niniani* which included the cure of leprosy in Ninian's repertoire.⁴⁹ The *Vita Niniani* also included a posthumous miracle, not mentioned in the *Miracula*, in which two lepers were healed at Whithorn.⁵⁰ This literary association between the saint and the disease led to the foundation of two leper hospitals dedicated to the saint in Glasgow and Ayrshire.⁵¹ A chapel dedicated to Ninian in Liberton, on the outskirts of Edinburgh, was also associated with the disease. Several prominent Edinburghers left money to the "lip-per folkis of Sanct Ninianes chapel" in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁵² The connection between Ninian and leprosy places an interesting perspective on the visit by Robert I to Whithorn in April 1329, just a month

44 David Ditchburn, "Piracy and War at Sea in Late Medieval Scotland", in *Scotland and the Sea*, ed. Thomas C. Smout (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), 35–58.

45 There were dedications to the saint on the west and east coasts at Wigtown, Irvine and Dumbarton, as well as in Leith, Dundee, Perth, Blackness and Aberdeen.

46 Weinstein & Bell, eds, *Saints and Society*, 147; Wilson, Introduction, 27–8; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 178.

47 The ability to cure lepers, with its allusion to New Testament miracles, had almost become a prerequisite of a successful healing cult during the middle ages. Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 48–51.

48 The *MNE* noted that he had "cleansed the swelling leprosy from the scaly body", MacQueen, ed, *St Nynia*, 95 & 97.

49 Forbes, ed. *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, 14–15.

50 *Ibid.*, 20.

51 The leper hospitals were located at the bridge in Glasgow and at Kingcase near Prestwick in Ayrshire, Cowan & Easson, eds, *Medieval religious houses, Scotland*, 180 & 183.

52 Innes, ed, *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii*, nos. 93, 106, 110, 114, 126 & 128.

before the king's death.⁵³ Two northern English sources, the chronicle of Lanercost and Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, stated that Robert died from leprosy, a contention supported by Liege chronicler Jean le Bel.⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly Scottish sources fail to mention the dreaded disease, with John Barbour suggesting that the unidentified ailment was brought on by the rough lifestyle of the years of guerrilla warfare.⁵⁵ It is clear from the statement in Lanercost, and those by Le Bel and Gray, that there was a widespread belief that the king had the disease.⁵⁶ Whether or not Robert and those closest to him shared this belief, the healing reputation of the saint was a strong motivation behind the decision to visit Whithorn in 1329.⁵⁷

Ninian also seems to have had an association with infant health and the safe delivery of children. Other Scottish saints like Margaret, whose shirt was part of the paraphernalia of royal births, and Kentigern, whose legends involved encouraging fertility, are more readily identified with childbirth and there is nothing in the Ninian dossier to associate him directly with this miracle type.⁵⁸ However, the pilgrimages to the shrine by Margaret of Denmark in 1473 and 1474 coincided with the birth of royal children.⁵⁹ The visit by James IV to the shrine in February 1507 was also made, according to Leslie, on behalf of his ailing queen and young heir.⁶⁰ In addition to the interest of several Scottish queens, women feature fairly prominently amongst the devotees of the cult. An image of the saint was included in a book of hours commissioned by a Scottish lady living in France and interest in the cult was shown by the countesses of Crawford and Douglas, as well as by two northern English women, Margery Salvin and Margaret Aske.⁶¹ Although there is no textual or visual

53 Duncan ed. *Acts of Robert I*, 157.

54 Herbert Maxwell, trans, *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272–1346* (Glasgow: Grimsay Press, 2001), ii, 264; Andrew King, ed, *Sir Thomas Grey, Scalacronica, 1272–1363* (Durham: Surtees Society, 2005), 107. Le Bel is cited in Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 223.

55 Archibald A.M. Duncan, ed, *John Barbour. The Bruce* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), 744.

56 Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 223.

57 The possibility that the pilgrimage of 1329 was intended to obtain a cure for the disease that killed Robert is posited by Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, 44; Donaldson, "The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn", 152.

58 Margaret's shirt was present at a number of royal births in the later middle ages, Boardman, "Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum", 147. Kentigern had a reputation for helping induce pregnancy in women, Duncan, "St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral", 13–5.

59 Macdougall, *James III*, 90.

60 Cody & Murison, eds. *Historie of Scotland, written by John Leslie*, ii, 123.

61 BL, Add 39761, fl. 97. Elizabeth Hamilton, countess of Crawford, owned a Ninian relic encased in gold. Her 1517 testament is transcribed in Brown, "Lay Piety in later Medieval

evidence to connect Ninian to childbirth, it may have been the saint's general reputation for healing that attracted these women.

Aside from these specialisms, the general reputation of Ninian as an effective healer and miracle worker flourished in the later middle ages. As well as leprosy, the *Miracula* and *Vita Niniani* described Ninian curing the blind, deaf, lame and paralysed.⁶² Amongst the miracles in the fourteenth-century translation of the *Vita Niniani* was curing the English soldier and John Balorn of Elgin of worms, and also curing a series of other invalids at the shrine.⁶³ Reports of miracles of various types associated with the saint were also mentioned at regular intervals throughout the later middle ages. The earliest dateable miracle occurred in 1301. In that year an English spy reported that fearing the consequences of a visit by the Prince of Wales (later Edward II, 1306–28) and his entourage to Whithorn, the shrine custodians moved a famous image of the saint fifty miles to Sweetheart Abbey for safe keeping. To the amazement of the custodians the image was found to have returned to its normal spot the following morning, in time for Edward's arrival.⁶⁴ In 1434 a French ambassador, Regnault Girard, left a silver ship as an *ex votos* offering at the shrine, believing that St "Treignan" had saved his party from shipwreck off the Scottish coast.⁶⁵ Further miracles are recorded during the reign of James IV who gave money to an English pilgrim in 1506 who "had a miracle at the shrine".⁶⁶ James V referred to the almost daily miracles said to have been occurring at the shrine in 1539, while the description of the saint by Boece in 1527 as an "active miracle maker" shows that Ninian's miraculous reputation remained strong on the eve of reformation.⁶⁷

The evolving nature of the cult of the saints meant that for a saint like Ninian to remain popular over a period of time required astute management and promotion.⁶⁸ The development of an association between the saint and the rescue miracle was just one way in which his image was adapted by those

Lothian", 288–89. For Aske and Salvin, Raine & Clay, eds, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, 275–6, iv, 116.

62 MacQueen, ed, *St Nynia*, 95–97, Forbes, ed. *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, 14–15 & 20.

63 Metcalfe, ed. *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 335–42 & 342–4.

64 CDS, ii, no.1225.

65 Louis A. Barbe, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin Louis* (London: Blackie, 1917), 50–54; Gordon Donaldson, "The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn", *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 27 (1948–9), 153.

66 TA, iii, 193.

67 Hannay, ed., *Letters of James V*, 362–3; *Chron. Boece*, i, 271.

68 Susan Ridyard summarises this process by stating that "cults did not just develop, they were developed", Ridyard, *Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 5. Duffy and Wilson have

who controlled his cult in the later middle ages. Custody of the relics of St Ninian were shared between the bishops of Galloway and the Premonstratensian canons who served as the cathedral clergy, an arrangement not dissimilar to that at the shrine of the apostle in St Andrews.⁶⁹ The situation was complicated in the fourteenth century by the allegiance of the diocese of Galloway to the province of York, which meant that the bishops were often absent from Whithorn.⁷⁰ During that period, it had been the priors who had controlled, and also benefited, from the popularity of the cult and shrine. White canons of the Premonstratensian order arrived at Whithorn from Souseat in around 1175 × 77, replacing either black canons or secular clergy from the original house founded by Fergus of Galloway (d.1161).⁷¹ The priors had become some of the wealthiest clergy in late medieval Scotland on the back of the popularity of the cult and had an obvious motivation for continuing to promote their saint.⁷² Unsurprisingly conflict was frequent between the priors and bishops after the return of the latter in the early fifteenth century.⁷³

In the twelfth century, promotion of the cult had included building work at the shrine and the commissioning of a new life of the saint.⁷⁴ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, through the selective use of images and recording of new miracle stories, the template vision of the saint provided by the *Vita*

also commented on the link between promotion and cult survival: Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 164–5; Wilson, Introduction, 26–8.

69 The bishops were also styled ‘of Whithorn’ and ‘of St Ninian’ on occasion. For simplicity the Galloway title will be used here.

70 Oram, “In Obedience and Reverence”, 83–101.

71 Mark Dilworth, *Whithorn Priory in the Late Middle Ages* (Whithorn: Whithorn Trust, 1994), 3–4. The priory was remarkably successful in securing new landed endowments and churches after 1300 in an era in which, as Oram has shown, “such gifts were increasingly rare”, Richard Oram, “Dividing the Spoils. War, Schism and Religious Patronage on the Anglo-Scottish Border, c.1332–c.1400”, in *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century. New Perspectives*, eds. Andrew King & Michael Penman (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 155.

72 Backmund describes the priors as among the wealthiest clergy in Scotland; Dilworth however, describes them as middle ranking ecclesiastics. Norbert Backmund, “The Premonstratensian Order in Scotland”, *Innes Review* 4 (1953), 40; Dilworth, *Whithorn Priory*, 7–8.

73 As early as 1408 the Archdeacon of Glasgow was forced to intervene in a dispute between Bishop Eliseaus (1409–15) and Prior Gilbert (1382–1413). Backmund, “The Premonstratensian Order in Scotland”, 39.

74 Structurally the promotion at Whithorn bears a number of similarities to the marketing of St Kentigern at Glasgow in the twelfth century by Glasgow bishops, Duncan, “St Kentigern at Glasgow Cathedral”, 9–22.

Niniani was augmented with fresh specialities which reflected contemporary concerns. The model for this modernising process seems to have been St Leonard of Noblac. The cult of St Leonard had emerged in the eleventh century, and he quickly became one of the most popular saints in Western Europe.⁷⁵ Leonard had a reputation that was markedly similar to Ninian. He was renowned for freeing captives, curing lepers and the safe delivery of children.⁷⁶ The custodians of the Ninian cult appear to have consciously adopted and localised some of the attributes of this international saint to propagate their cult. This approach was a reflection of a wider trend from the thirteenth century when saints and their miracles were increasingly expected to conform to established precedents or types.⁷⁷ The moulding of Ninian into a curative/protector type, which was taking place in the fourteenth century, thus required appropriate miracles and the natural model for the custodians at Whithorn was the popular figure of Leonard.

As well as modifying the image of their saint, the community of St Ninian improved the shrine at Whithorn and exploited the new promotional tools available in the later middle ages to publicise their cult. This process began in 1406 when they were granted the right to offer an indulgence for those helping to fund a new bridge over the River Bladnoch, an important crossing point on the pilgrim trail to Whithorn.⁷⁸ This work on the infrastructure of the pilgrimage network in Galloway was matched by the repair and augmentation of the church at Whithorn, a process instigated by Bishop Eliseaus (1406–1412×15) in 1408.⁷⁹ In 1431 Prior Thomas (1413–31) personally built and founded the Lady Chapel, which would become a further part of the pilgrim itinerary at Whithorn.⁸⁰ The most active of these fifteenth-century Whithorn churchmen was William Douglas. Despite his connection to the Black Douglas family

75 Higgitt has noted the similarities between the visual images of the two saints: Higgitt, "From Bede to Rabelais", 194–5. While a number of hospitals were dedicated to Leonard in Scotland, a lack of altar and chaplainry dedications suggest his cult was not as popular as other pan-European cults like those of Nicholas and Katherine.

76 Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 264, and William G. Ryan, trans, *Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints, Jacobus de Voragine* (Princeton: University Press, 1993), ii, 243–40.

77 Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 4–6.

78 The river runs across the peninsula just to the south of Wigtown and would have to be crossed by all pilgrims arriving by land, *CPL, Benedict XIII*, 156. There were further problems with this crossing place and another indulgence was granted in 1441, *CSSR, 1433–1447*, no. 746.

79 *CPL, Benedict XIII*, 173–4.

80 *CSSR, 1428–1432*, 175.

(he was an illegitimate son of the 5th earl), William developed a close relationship with Mary of Guelders and James III. He was able to use their support to petition Pius II and Paul II (1464–71) successfully for the right to grant indulgences for visitors to Whithorn in 1462 and 1466. The 1462 supplication was said to be for “for the reparation, maintenance and augmentation of the (...) church”.⁸¹ The 1466 letter took a different approach, referring to the existing reputation of the saint for performing “diverse miracles”.⁸² While active management by shrine custodians like Douglas was important, it would not have been as effective without this reputation for miracle working. This is abundantly clear from similar, but less successful, attempts to promote the shrines of Andrew and Columba in the same period.

Substantial building work at the church continued into the early sixteenth century, by which time the shrine custodians had created a complex and sophisticated pilgrimage network at Whithorn.⁸³ Evidence from the reign of James IV shows that the pilgrim experience began before arriving in Whithorn, with a visit to Ninian’s cave at Glasserton, five miles from Whithorn, and the chapel on the hill near the town, possibly an early Christian site yet to be identified.⁸⁴ Once inside the church itself, the pilgrim was greeted by an altar in the outer church where a Ninian relic (probably his arm) was displayed, before moving on to the altar of the Holy Rood. These were just the preamble to the main event, the High Altar, where the chief relics of St Ninian were displayed. After this, the pilgrim would pass the Lady Chapel before descending into the crypt to view the empty tomb where the body had lain in an earlier period. The sophisticated multifocal shrine arrangement at Whithorn, incorporating elements of Marian and Passion devotion, demonstrated many similarities to the organisation of the shrine of St Kentigern in Glasgow.⁸⁵ Although it lacked the space of large reliquary churches like Glasgow or St Andrews, the shrine of St Ninian was at the forefront of fashions in the display of relics in Western Europe. The success of the Ninian cult in the later middle ages resulted from a

81 *CSSR*, 1447–1471, no. 915.

82 *Ibid*, no. 1149.

83 James IV made gifts of money to masons working at the church in 1491 and 1501, *TA*, i, 182, ii, 104 & 157.

84 This description of the arrangements at Whithorn come from James IV’s pilgrimages in 1506–8, *TA*, i, 356, ii, 80–1, 252, iii, 280, 287 & 292 and Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, 39; Christopher Lowe, ‘Clothing for the soul divine’: burials at the tomb of St Ninian: excavations at Whithorn Priory, 1957–67 (Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2009), 154–155.

85 The multi-focal style of shrine management was common across the British Isles in this period. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, 78–9.

combination of this assiduous promotion, the saint's blend of specific and general functions, and his consistent reputation for the miraculous. The adoption of the saint and shrine by the crown in the late fifteenth century provided a final boost for an already well-established cult, viewed by some Scots as a popular national patron.

4 Crossing Borders. Devotion to Ninian Outside Scotland

The paradox of the late medieval cult of St Ninian was that the period that saw the adoption of the saint by the Scottish national church and crown, and a growing association with Scots who lived abroad, also saw his cult become increasingly international in scope. Central to this growing international renown was the miraculous reputation of the shrine at Whithorn. The 1427 and 1516 legislation to regulate pilgrimage to the shrine referred to foreign pilgrims arriving by "sea or land".⁸⁶ There were a number of ports at which the maritime route could terminate, the closest being the Isle of Whithorn, four miles from the shrine. The wreck of the ship carrying the French ambassador Girard, and a further ship that "brak" at Whithorn in 1494, illustrate the dangers inherent in the sea-borne method of travel to the shrine.⁸⁷ The land route could be equally precarious as it passed through the often lawless border region. The last recorded English pilgrim to the shrine, Jeffrey Middleton, was kidnapped in the borders in 1528 on his return from Whithorn, and James IV had previously compensated two English visitors robbed on the pilgrim road in 1504.⁸⁸ What prompted men and women to make these dangerous journeys, crossing political and linguistic borders to visit Whithorn? Was it the same motivations that spurred Scottish pilgrims or did these foreign visitors arrive with a different image of Ninian than the locals?

The presence at Whithorn of pilgrims from the Isle of Man, mentioned in 1427, 1516 and 1518, is unsurprising in the context of local geography.⁸⁹ The Ninian cult on the island would have been further stimulated by the links

86 RSS, i, no. 2844. The legislation of 1516 specified that travellers were to be unarmed, with badges as proof that they were genuine pilgrims.

87 Barbe, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin*, 50–54, TA, i, 240.

88 Middleton was kidnapped by a group of border brigands and held for ransom. John S. Brewer et al., eds, *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII* (London: PRO, 1864–1932), iv, nos. 4532 & 4829. An English couple were robbed on the way to Whithorn by an Englishman and a Scotsman, TA, ii, 458.

89 RMS, ii, no. 107, RSS, i, no. 2844; Hannay, ed, *Letters of James V*, 109.

between Whithorn priory and the Manx church. A colony of monks from the priory had been established on Man in the twelfth century, and the church at Ramsey was dedicated to the saint.⁹⁰ French interest in Ninian is perhaps more remarkable. As the references to Ninian in two works by Francois Rabelais show, some French people were familiar with the saint, even if only through contact with émigré Scots.⁹¹ French pilgrims are described at Whithorn in the *Legends* and an ambassador, Regnault Girard, visited the shrine in 1434.⁹² Two more ambassadors, Dampier and De la Motte, were at Whithorn in 1508 and 1512, while the Franco-Scottish lord, Berault Stewart, died on his way to Whithorn in 1508.⁹³ These ambassadorial visits were probably at the prompting of hosts Hugh Kennedy and James IV, rather than as a result of a wider interest in the cult. However, trading links between France and the west of Scotland, and miracle stories such as that of 1434, may have played a role in encouraging the Gallic pilgrims mentioned at Whithorn in the *Legends*. Evidence of a French cult of the saint emerging in this period is limited however to a chapel that may have been dedicated to the saint in the Breton port of Roscoff.⁹⁴

Irish interest in Ninian is better attested. The legislation of 1427 and 1516, and a series of letters sent to the papacy by the Duke of Albany and James V, suggest that Irish pilgrims were frequently found at the shrine in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹⁵ Like their Manx counterparts, Irish interest in Ninian is also perhaps unsurprising given the proximity of the shrine in Galloway to Ulster.⁹⁶ There is evidence to suggest that it may have been a different

90 Basil R.S. Megaw, "The Barony of St Trinian's in the Isle of Man", *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 28 (1947–48), 173–183.

91 Frame, trans. *Complete Works of Francois Rabelais*, 78.

92 Metcalfe, ed. *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 325–6, Barbe, *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin*, 50–54.

93 *TA*, iv, 135, 400; Hannay, ed. *Letters of James the Fourth*, 113 & 114–15.

94 The presence of a chapel in Roscoff founded by Queen Mary (1542–67) has been noted by Guthrie, but the evidence is no longer extant. Charles L. Guthrie, "Mary Stuart and Roscoff", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 42 (1908), 17–18. I am grateful to Dr Boardman for this reference.

95 *RMS*, ii, no.107, *RSS*, i, no. 2844. The presence of Irish pilgrims is noted in letters sent to the papacy by Albany in 1518 and James V in 1524 and 1539, Hannay, ed. *Letters of James V*, 41, 66, 109 & 362–3.

96 As Ditchburn and Lythe have shown, trade across the Irish Sea must have been frequent, as attested by the number of Scottish ships impounded at Dublin, Dundalk and Drogheda in 1306, Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 147, Samuel G.E. Lythe, "Economic Life", in

Ninian to the conventional image projected from Whithorn that formed the basis of this Irish cult. In Ireland the church of Whithorn was called the “great monastery” and Ninian was commonly known by the diminutive form of his name, Mo-Ninn or Moinenn of Cluan Conaire.⁹⁷ An Irish life of the saint, which differed from the twelfth-century *Vita Niniani*, also appears to have been in circulation during this period. This source is no longer extant, but fortunately it was available to James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, (d.1656). Ussher wrote that in the life it was noted that Ninian had founded the monastery of Cluain Conaire near Dublin, and died there in 432 AD.⁹⁸ Interestingly, the now ruined church at Cloncurry (the modern name for Cluan Conaire) was dedicated to St Ninian in the later middle ages.⁹⁹ An Irish connection for the saint, beyond one miracle in which a student from Whithorn tried to flee to Ireland, was not an established part of the Scottish hagiographic tradition.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately there is little further information as to how different the Irish image of Ninian was or what aspects of the cult were of particular relevance to pilgrims.

Even more common than Irish pilgrims were those from England. They feature prominently in all the late medieval references to the shrine and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it is even possible to trace visits, or payments for proxy pilgrimages, by individual English men and women.¹⁰¹ In 1414 Thomas Colliyer, the King of Arms for Ireland, paid for a man to make a pilgrimage to Whithorn and a series of other northern English shrines on his behalf.¹⁰² Similar requests for proxy pilgrimages were made in the wills of Margaret Aske

Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, ed. Jenny Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 66–85.

97 James Kenney, *Sources for the early history of Ireland. Ecclesiastical* (Shannon: Irish UP, 1968), 160. The feast of a saint called Moinenn is recorded under 16 September (the feast day of St Ninian) in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and of Donegal. Richard I. Best, ed, *Martyrology of Tallaght* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1931), 71; John O'Donovan, ed, *Martyrology of Donegal. A Calendar of Saints of Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1864), 249.

98 The reference to Ninian is included in his book *Brittanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*. Ussher also suggests that the saint's mother was Irish and that his trips to Ireland were to visit her. Charles R. Elrington, ed, *Whole Works of the most rev James Ussher* (Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1847–64), vi, 200–209.

99 Bliss, et al. ed. *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers*, xviii, no. 364.

100 This is known as the miracle of Ninian's staff, Forbes, ed, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, 19–21.

101 Metcalfe, ed, *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 325–6; *RMS*, ii, no. 107; *RSS*, i, no. 2844; Hannay, ed, *Letters of James V*, 41, 66, 109 & 362–3.

102 Cited in Henry Summerson, “Carlisle and the English West March”, in *The North of England in the Reign of Richard III*, ed. Anthony Pollard (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996), 92. The tour

of Kelby (1465), William Eccop, Rector of Heslerton in the East Riding (1472) and Robert Ardern of Stockport (1540).¹⁰³ Other individuals who actually visited Whithorn included Richard Shepard from the North Riding and John Smith from Buckingham, who were at the shrine in 1482.¹⁰⁴ Travelling in somewhat greater style, Sir William Tyrwhitt of Kettleby was granted a safe conduct to visit Whithorn with sixteen companions in 1506.¹⁰⁵ Four separate groups of English visitors were found at the shrine in the early sixteenth century, where they were given alms by James IV.¹⁰⁶ The last recorded English pilgrim was the unfortunate Jeffrey Middleton, kidnapped in the borders in 1528 on his return from Whithorn.¹⁰⁷

By the late fifteenth century the cult of St Ninian was firmly established in the north of England, with dedications to the saint found in churches in County Durham and Yorkshire.¹⁰⁸ Altars dedicated to Ninian were located in Ripon (b.1500) and York Minster (b.1483), lights in his honour burned in Kelloe (1476) and Tickhill (1482), while the Greyfriars of York possessed a “a bone of Saynt

began in London then moved on to Walsingham, and the shrines of John of Beverly, John of Bridlington, William of York and the Marian chapel in Carlisle.

- 103 Margaret requested that man travel to Canterbury and Whithorn. James Raine and William Clay, eds, *Testamenta Eboracensia. A selection of wills from the registry at York* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1832–1906) ii, 275–6. William specified nineteen shrines, most of which were in the north. Whithorn was the only shrine outside of England mentioned in the will, *ibid*, iii, 199–201. Robert Ardern paid a man to visit the popular Marian shrine at Walsingham in Norfolk and Whithorn: John P. Earwaker, ed, *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1858–61), ii, 138–141.
- 104 Smyth is noted as going on pilgrimage to Whithorn from Buckingham, whilst Shepard was from Hovingham, just north of York, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII* (London: PRO, 1898–1955), ii, nos. 640 & 652.
- 105 This man was probably William Tyrwhitt of Kettleby (1458–1522) whose father was sheriff of Lincoln in 1482, who was sheriff himself in 1497 and was described as a ‘knight of the king’s body’ in 1488, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: A.D. 1476–1485, Parts 1476–1485* (London: HMRO, 1901), 159, 342, 393; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Henry VII.; Vol. 2. A.D. 1494–1509*, (London: HMRO, 1970), 122 & 198.
- 106 TA, ii, 443, 458, iii, 193, RSS, i, no.1291.
- 107 Brewer et al., eds, *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, iv, nos. 4532 & 4829.
- 108 Arnold-Forster identified only one possible church dedicated to the saint at Brougham in Cumbria. Bond, more optimistically, mentions four others, suggesting that this English cult was primarily a late medieval phenomenon. Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications or England’s Patron Saints* (London: Skeffintong and son, 1899), ii, 223–224; Francis Bond, *Dedications of English Churches. Ecclesiastical Symbolism, Saints and Emblems* (Oxford: University Press, 1914), 19, 96 & 219.

Nynyan", gifted to them by Margery Salvin in 1491.¹⁰⁹ A series of references to the saint in the wills and post-mortem enquiries of Yorkshire women and men like Margaret Aske, William Eccop and Richard Shepherd noted above, attest to the growing popularity of the cult in that region. This popularity was also reflected in the emergence of the previously unknown forename Ninian in Yorkshire, with several men bearing the name noted in Ripon, York and Knaresborough in the early sixteenth century.¹¹⁰ A popular practice undertaken by devotees of the cult in the northeast was a fast in honour of the saint that lasted from Good Friday to after Mass on Easter Sunday.¹¹¹ James Pilkington, bishop of Durham (1560–75), noted that this rite was one of the proscribed religious activities still being practiced in his diocese following the reformation.¹¹² Pilkington had clearly been unable to stamp out the practice, forcing his successor Richard Barnes (1575–87) to remind his diocesan clergy in 1577 that the fast was a restricted activity.¹¹³

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- 109 Joseph Fowler, ed, *Memorials of the Church of ss Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1882–1904), iii, 264, 268 & 271; James Raine, ed, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1859), 305; and Eric Gee, "The Topography of Altars, Chancies and Shrines in York Minster", *Antiquaries Journal* 64 (1984), 347. The light in Kelloe, County Durham, was founded by John Trollop of Thornley. James Raine ed, *Wills and inventories illustrative of the history, manners, language, statistics, &c. of the northern counties of England, [or rather, mostly of Durham] from the eleventh century downwards* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1835–1929), i, 97–99. The light in Tickhill near Doncaster was founded by Hugh Hastings, a member of a prominent West Riding family, Raine & Clay, eds, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii, 273. Margery Salvin was a resident of York, *ibid*, iv, 116.
- 110 Ninian does not feature in Database of People of Northern England 1216–86, <http://www.pone.ac.uk/>. Seven men with the name were active in Ripon and the local area with two others recorded in York and Knaresborough between the late fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries. Fowler, ed, *Memorials of the Church of ss Peter and Wilfrid*, 12, 278, 301, 326, 344 and 348; Francis Collins, ed, *Register of the Freemen of the city of York 1272–1558* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1897–1900), i, 250. Ninian Pullayne was a soldier from Scotton near Knaresborough, who died in 1565. James Raine, ed, *Wills and inventories from the registry of the Archdeacons of Richmond* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1853), 176.
- 111 Metcalfe, ed, *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 325–6.
- 112 Pilkington stated that; "some have St Tronians fast others Our lady and many the Golden Fridays", John Dowden, "Note of two late notices relating to the cultus of St Ninian in England", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 5 (1894–5), 198–202.
- 113 Saint Trinyan's fast along with other fasts of Our Lady feast and St Margaret are referred to by Barnes as "popishe holydays", James Raine, ed, *Instructions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, 1575–87* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1850), 17.

The most prestigious English patron of the cult had strong territorial interests in these northern counties. Richard III (1483–1485) made a series of dedications in honour of the saint both before and after seizing the English throne in 1483. His interest in Ninian began in 1477 with a grant to fund four studentships at Queen's College, Cambridge in honour of Mary, George, Anthony and Ninian.¹¹⁴ Richard named a stall at his collegiate church at Middleham in honour of the saint in 1479, dedicated his collegiate church at Barnard Castle to Christ, Mary, Margaret and Ninian in the same year and included the saint in a proposed foundation of one hundred priests at York.¹¹⁵ Could the emergence of a branch of the Ninian cult in the northeast, and the popularity of Whithorn with English pilgrims, be attributed to this high status patronage? The bulk of recorded English devotion to Ninian came after 1477, when Richard first displayed an interest in the saint, and was located in the region of his greatest political influence. The king may also have been behind the foundation of the altar dedicated to Ninian c.1483 in York Minster, and also seems to have encouraged his supporters in devotion to the saint. Hugh Hastings, who paid for a light in "honour of seynt Ninian" in Tickhill and Thomas Merkenfield, whose son was named after the saint, accompanied Richard on his Scottish campaign in 1482.¹¹⁶ William Tyrwhitt who visited Whithorn in 1506, was also from a family with strong Yorkist connections.¹¹⁷

English pilgrims had however been present at Whithorn in the fourteenth century and were specified within the legislation of 1427, while the shrine seems to have become part of a northern pilgrimage network well before 1477. A series of literary references to Ninian, often under the names Trinian, Ronian or Rinian, and his shrine at Whithorn, show that the saint was increasingly well known in England from the fourteenth century. Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*

114 William G. Searle, "The History of the Queens College of St Margaret in the University of Cambridge, 1446–1560", *Publicity of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 8–10 (1867), 88–89.

115 William Atthill, ed, *Documents relating to the foundation and antiquity of the collegiate church of Middleham* (London: Camden Society, 1847), 8; Higgitt, "From Bede to Rabelais", 202, Anne Sutton & Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and reality in the life and library of a medieval prince* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 61. Nothing else is known about the York foundation except that the priests were to sing for "God, our Lady, Seynt George and Seynt Nynyan". Richard also included a prayer in honour of the saint in his personal book of hours. The four additions to the book were made, according to the most recent editor, at the time of his coronation in 1483. Anne Sutton & Livia Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III* (Stroud: Sutton, 1990), 1 & 39–42.

116 Raine & Clay, eds, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii, 273; Fowler, ed, *Memorials of the Church of ss Peter and Wilfrid*, 12, 278, 301, 326, 344 and 348.

117 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: A.D. 1476–1485*, 159, 393 & 512.

(c.1326) mentioned “Whitherne, where Seynte Ninian, otherwise callede by the commune people Seynt Ronyon, was firste founder and doctor”.¹¹⁸ A “Seint Ronyan”, also features in Geoffrey Chaucer’s ‘Pardoner’s Tale’, although the identification of this saint as Ninian has been disputed.¹¹⁹ The saint was certainly one of only three from Scotland who featured in John of Tynemouth’s late fourteenth century *Sanctilogium Angliae*, a compilation of saints’ lives from the British Isles.¹²⁰ William of Worcester mentioned “the town of Whithorn where St Ninian lies buried” in 1478, while playwright John Heywood referred to the shrine of “St Tronion” in a work of 1544.¹²¹ While Richard’s devotion to the saint may have encouraged the northern cult, it was not the primary stimulant.

This English interest in Ninian has also been explained by characterising the saint as the patron of the English and Scottish West March.¹²² However, as we have seen, evidence for devotion to Ninian in England was almost exclusively found in the east rather than the west.¹²³ Longer term ecclesiastical connections may have played a role in this geographical focus. From the revival of the see of Galloway in the twelfth century, until St Andrews became the metropolitan of the Scottish church in 1472, the diocese was officially under the authority of York. In practice the warfare of the fourteenth century had severed the relationship, with Michael (1355–58 × 59) the last bishop to seek consecration at

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- 118 The quote noted above is from the fifteenth century English translation, MS Harl 2261, Babington, ed, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden* ii, 135 & 149.
- 119 John Sledd, “Canterbury Tales, L.310, 32: By seynt Ronyan”, *Medieval Studies* 13 (1951), 226–35. Anne Haskell and others have argued that Ronan was a Breton saint. Anne S. Haskell, *Essays on Chaucer’s Saints* (Paris: Mouton, 1976), 18.
- 120 The legendary also included the lives of Kentigern and Columba, Carl Horstmann, ed, *Nova Legenda Anglie* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), ii, xii–xiii & 219–24.
- 121 Harvey, ed, *Itineraries [of] William Worcester*, 6–7. “St Tronion” features in a long list of pilgrimage destinations ranging from the Holy Land and Rome to British shrines in a play called the ‘Foure PP’: Richard Axton and Peter Happe, eds., *Plays of John Heywood* (Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 1991), 112.
- 122 Jonathan Hughes, *The religious Life of Richard III. Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 36–7; Sutton & Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, 41; Alexander Grant, “Richard III and Scotland”, in *The North of England in the Reign of Richard III*, ed. Anthony J. Pollard (Stroud: Sutton, 1996), 116.
- 123 Evidence of significant Cumbrian interest in Ninian is limited. Although Summerson has suggested that people made pilgrimages from Carlisle to Whithorn, the only named devotee of the saint with probable Cumbrian connections was Jeffrey Middleton. Summerson, “Carlisle and the English West March”, 93. The only reference to interest in the cult in the northwest is the proxy pilgrimage paid for by Robert Arden of Stockport. Earwaker, ed. *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, ii, 138–141.

York in 1355.¹²⁴ It had been common until that time for Galloway bishops to supplement their income by serving as part-time assistants in the English diocese, a role carried out by successive office holders from John (1189–1209) to Thomas (1294–1324).¹²⁵ The regular presence of these men in York may have contributed to the early establishment of the cult in the region, a local interest further stimulated by the positive reports of pilgrims returning from Whithorn in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and given a final boost by the example set by Richard III in the 1470s.

There is evidence to suggest that, like their Irish counterparts, English devotees of the cult may have been attracted by a somewhat different image of Ninian than the standard line seen in the Scottish hagiography and chronicles. As we have noted in Chapter 1, it has been suggested that the miracle stories from the fourteenth-century version of the *Vita Niniani*, in which Ninian saved Scots from English troops, showed him acting as a “heroic national saint”, contributing to his adoption as a patron saint of the kingdom.¹²⁶ Although it is clear in the *Legends* that Ninian’s sympathies are with the Scots, if we compare these miracle stories with others from the Anglo-Scottish wars, it is apparent that they were intended to provide a more inclusive message. In four miracle stories from Bower’s *Scotichronicon*, English troops in Scotland who transgressed the patrimonies of Columba and Serf were killed.¹²⁷ In a further Bower legend, the Scottish defeat at the battle of Neville’s Cross (1346) was attributed to the lack of respect shown by David II to St Cuthbert.¹²⁸ Miracle stories emanating from Durham in this period showed Cuthbert acting in a similarly partisan and ruthless manner.¹²⁹ The miracle stories in the translated *Vita Niniani* are multi-layered and more ambiguous than those found in the *Scotichronicon* or the Durham tradition. In one miracle Ninian restored to health an English officer who had vowed to visit Whithorn at the suggestion of his Scottish captive.¹³⁰ Differing audiences could take varied images of the saint from this

124 Michael required a safe conduct to attend his consecration, *CDS*, iii, no. 1584. His successor, Adam of Lanark (1363–1378), renounced his allegiance to York: Richard Oram, “In Obedience and Reverence”. Whithorn and York c.1128–c.1250”, *Innes Review* 42 (1991), 83–101.

125 Donaldson, “The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn”, 130–1.

126 Metcalfe, ed, *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 327–29 & 335–42, Clancy, “Scottish Saints and National Identities”, 404.

127 The first miracle was attributed to Serf who helped Scots forces under siege at Lochleven, three others featured Columba protecting Inchcolm and Dollar from English raiding parties, *Chron. Bower*, vii, 99, 109, 119–22 & 399–403.

128 *Ibid*, vii, 255–7.

129 John Bliese, “Saint Cuthbert and war”, *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998), 215–43.

130 The English soldier had worms in his feet, Metcalfe, ed, *Legends of the Saints*, ii, 341.

story. Ninian could be perceived as a patriotic figure, protecting Scots from foreign invaders, as a local patron helping the Gallovidian captive, or as powerful regional patron saint, receptive to all genuine supplicants.

This inclusive aspect of the saint's reputation is more apparent in a further original miracle from the *Legends*. In a fairly standard version of the hanged man miracle type, Ninian intervened to save an English prisoner from execution.¹³¹ The saint's motivation for helping the man was not his innocence – the narrative makes it clear that he was guilty – but that he undertook to fast and visit Whithorn.¹³² As with the story of the English officer, nationality or merit was of no consequence to the saint, unsurprisingly given the location of the shrine on the Irish Sea, close to the English border. It is clear from these miracles that those responsible for generating the image of the saint at Whithorn were keen to stress his comprehensive appeal. It is this non-partisan figure with which the English devotees of the saint seem to have engaged. Their image of Ninian can be inferred from the prayers that Richard III ordered to be said daily by his priests at Queen's College, and included within his book of hours. These prayers identified the saint as an early apostle of the north, rather than just Scotland, noting that the "Britons and Picts" had been converted "by the teaching of St Ninian".¹³³ The ability of the late medieval Ninian cult to thus embody a sense of Scottishness for some supplicants, whilst remaining a non-partisan figure for others, was central to its success as a cross-border cult.

5 Duthac of Tain. The Demi-God of Ross

Although modern historians dispute the existence of St Ninian, his late medieval devotees were confident that their man had died in the fifth century. The opposite is true for the second most popular Scottish saint of the later middle ages.¹³⁴ St Duthac, whose cult was centred on Tain in Easter Ross, has tended to be identified by modern commentators with one "Dubthach the Scot", a holy

¹³¹ *Ibid*, ii, 331–35.

¹³² He is described as a "wicked man" in the text, *ibid*, ii, 331. As Bartlett has shown innocence was not a pre-requisite for saintly intervention in this miracle type, Bartlett, *The Hanged man*, 49–50.

¹³³ The prayer is translated in Hughes, *The religious Life of Richard III*, 37, Lambeth, MS 474, reproduced in Sutton, Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, 41.

¹³⁴ For an extended discussion of the origins legends surrounding St Duthac, Tom Turpie, "The many lives of St Duthac of Tain. Tracing the origins of a late medieval Scottish saint", *Northern Studies* 44 (2013), 3–20.

man whose death was recorded in Armagh in the year 1065.¹³⁵ As well as the similarity of the name to the saint of Tain, an Irish connection for Duthac tallies with his legends recorded in the Aberdeen Breviary.¹³⁶ Evidence from the fifteenth century suggests that this timeframe for the career of the saint had been accepted in the area around Tain. An inquest held in the town in 1439 noted that Duthac had lived during the reign of Malcolm III (1058–83), and this dating was depicted on the earliest surviving seal of the burgh.¹³⁷ However, the only sources that provide an extended account of the career of the saint, the Aberdeen Breviary and a 1418 letter requesting his canonisation sent to Martin V, are notably vague when it comes to placing the saint in a historical timeframe.¹³⁸ This vagueness regarding dates may have resulted from the knowledge that an alternative account of Duthac's life and career was circulating by the sixteenth century. Boece had heard that Duthac had died in the early thirteenth century, and had acted as the mentor of another northern saint, Gilbert of Caithness (d.1242). He was not however, entirely convinced by this account, noting that others claimed Duthac had lived long before then.¹³⁹

The thirteenth century provenance and connection to Gilbert was accepted by two post-reformation writers, both of whom had connections to Easter Ross.¹⁴⁰ John Leslie (d.1596) noted in his 1578 work that Duthac had lived during the reign of William I (1165–1214).¹⁴¹ David Chambers (d.1592), whose posthumous work was published in 1631, was more precise, noting that the saint had died in 1253.¹⁴² Surviving early evidence for Duthac and his cult neither

135 Sean Mac Airt & Gearold Mac Niocall, eds, *Annals of Ulster: Text and translation Pt. 1* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1983), 503; Anderson, ed, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, ii, 10; Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 124; Herbert Thurston & Donal Attwater, ed, *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (London: Burns and Oates, 1953–4), ii, 526; Alexander Boyle, "Notes on Scottish Saints", *Innes Review*, 32 (1981), 66–67.

136 In the breviary it was noted that Duthac had studied in Ireland. Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 72–77.

137 William Macgill, ed, *Old Ross-shire and Scotland: As Seen in the Tain and Balnagown Documents* (Inverness: Northern Counties, 1909), 369; Stevenson & Wood, eds, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 81.

138 Baxter, ed, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 4–6 & 385.

139 *Chron. Boece*, ii, 229.

140 Both men were educated at the University of Aberdeen and then abroad, and were exiled following the fall of Mary, Queen of Scots. Leslie was bishop of Ross, 1567–92, while Chambers was from Easter Ross, being commonly styled 'of Ormond' in documents.

141 Cody & Murison, eds, *Historie of Scotland*, i, 135.

142 David Chambers, *De Scotorum fortitudine, doctrina, & pietate, ac de ortu & progressu hae-resis in regnis Scotiae & Angliae* (Paris: Petri Baillet 1631), 112–113.

fully supports, nor completely rules out, either of these timeframes. The church in Tain is first recorded in 1227, while the existence of a shrine dedicated to St Duthac is noted no earlier than 1306.¹⁴³ Place-name and early church and chapel dedications are similarly inconclusive, indicating nothing more than that there was a local cult dedicated to Duthac by the thirteenth century, centred on the earldom of Ross and the Moray and Cromarty firths.¹⁴⁴ It is impossible therefore to be certain of the identity of the historical figure, if there was one as such, around which the Duthac cult was based. It may have been the man who died in Armagh in 1065, or equally one of the other holy men with the same name recorded in Ireland and Scotland in the early middle ages.¹⁴⁵ The connection between Duthac and the thirteenth century made by Boece, Leslie and Chambers, could plausibly have resulted from a translation of the relics of the saint from Armagh to Tain in that period, as is suggested by local tradition, or efforts to promote the cult by local clerical or secular patrons.¹⁴⁶

These writers' musings on the origins of Duthac were prompted by two remarkable changes in the status of the cult in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Between 1359 and c.1530, this previously local cult spread across the kingdom, with dedications to the saint found in most of the large burgh churches and as far south as Ayr and Kelso.¹⁴⁷ In the latter part of the fifteenth century, the saint and his shrine at Tain were adopted by the royal house, most visibly during the reign of James IV. The growing importance of the saint and his shrine in Scotland were first recognised by foreign observers at that time. In 1478, William of Worcester described Duthac as "the saint reckoned to be the most venerated in the land of Ross", while in the *Ballad of Flodden* the English poet identified him as one of the patron saints of the kingdom.¹⁴⁸ Duthac's alien-sounding name seems to have caused some problems for English speakers, with the poet calling the saint "Doffin", and a report sent to Henry VIII (1509–47) in 1533 noting that James V was on pilgrimage at the shrine of "Saynt

143 Brydinus the 'Vicar of Tene' is first mentioned in 1227, Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, 82, *Chron. Fordun*, ii, 334.

144 Turpie, "Our friend in the north", 10–12.

145 Dubtach, the abbot of Iona died in 938 and two Irish saints with similar names feature in the Martyrology of Donegal. Anderson, ed. *Early Sources of Scottish History*, i, 430; O'Donovan, ed. *Martyrology of Donegal*, 40–1 & 268–9.

146 The use of 1253 in local histories probably derives from its inclusion in Chambers, *De Scotorum fortitudine*, 112–3.

147 John Anderson & Francis J. Grant, eds, *Protocol Book of Gavin Ros* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1908), 28, *RMS*, ii, no.2860.

148 Harvey, ed. *Itineraries [of] William Worcestre*, 7, Weber, ed., *Battle of Flodden Field*, 27.

Dothons in Rose".¹⁴⁹ The limited attention given to Duthac by modern scholars has focused on this royal connection, attributing the success of his cult in the later middle ages to this conspicuous patronage or placing it within the wider trend of devotional patriotism.¹⁵⁰ However, like Ninian, the success of the Duthac cult in the later middle ages would result more from his general reputation than from prominent patronage or clerical promotion.

6 Kings, Merchants and the Common People. The Devotees of St Duthac

The earliest connection between Duthac and the royal house can be traced to 1321. It was in that year that William, earl of Ross (d.1323), was forced by Robert I to pay chaplains to say masses at Tain on his behalf. This action was to be a penance for William's sacrilegious actions of 1306, when he had violated the sanctuary of the shrine in order to capture Marjory and Elizabeth Bruce.¹⁵¹ The penance was one of several similar acts of spiritual atonement enforced by the king for actions during the wars, and as such was not indicative of a personal interest in the saint.¹⁵² The earliest unequivocal royal patronage of Tain can be traced to the 1450s. During a tour of the north in 1457 James II endowed a chaplainry in the newly built church in Tain.¹⁵³ Royal patronage was intensified by his son who endowed a further chaplainry in the church in 1482. James III also included Duthac amongst the dedicatees of the chapel royal at Restalrig and supported the elevation of the church at Tain to collegiate status in 1487.¹⁵⁴ The first documented royal visit to the shrine was made by James IV in October 1493, although it is possible that James II or James III had been there in the 1450s and 70s.¹⁵⁵ For the remainder of his reign, James made Tain a central part

149 *Ibid.*, 27, Lemon, eds. *State Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, 652–3.

150 Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, 106–109; McRoberts, "The Scottish Church and Nationalism", 9.

151 Duncan ed. *The Acts of Robert I*, no. 196.

152 Other examples of this form of punishment include penalties inflicted upon Sir Eustace Maxwell for the death of Sir Christopher Seton and the brethren of the Hospital of Turriff who paid for masses for Nigel Bruce. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 413.

153 *ER*, vi, 465.

154 *Ibid.*, viii, 596, Laing, ed. *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, i, 282, *RMS*, ii, nos.1513 & 1694.

155 It was presumably for this pilgrimage that James received the "victuals" recorded in *ER*, x, 439. It is possible that James II visited Tain in 1457, or that James III was at the shrine during his honeymoon tour of 1470. *ER*, viii, 80 & 85; Macdougall, *James III*, 89–90 & 364; *RMS*, ii, no. 2181, *TA*, i, xiv.

of his travel itinerary, visiting the shrine on a near-annual basis.¹⁵⁶ The king's personal devotion was comparable to his commitment to Ninian, with James acquiring Duthac relics for the royal collection and marking the saint's 13 March feast day with gifts in his honour.¹⁵⁷ The close relationship between crown and saint was continued by his son; James V visited Tain on at least four occasions and gifted a silver reliquary to the shrine.¹⁵⁸

This royal patronage would have given the cult a greater national and international profile, particularly from the reign of James IV. The enhanced status was reflected in the inclusion of the saint in the 1513 *Ballad of Flodden*, and in the reference to St "Duthow" in David Lindsay's poem *The Monarchie*.¹⁵⁹ It was also in this context that post-reformation writers like Leslie and Chambers chose to remember the saint, and it is perhaps how he is best known today.¹⁶⁰ However, consistent royal patronage occurred only from the 1490s, long after the cult had emerged as a national concern. The catalyst for the spread of interest in Duthac across the kingdom was his popularity amongst merchants and other prominent Scottish townsmen. The earliest confirmed dedication to the saint outside his Ross heartlands was an altar, founded by two merchants in 1359, in the burgh church of Aberdeen.¹⁶¹ In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries further altars, and men bearing the name Duthac, would appear amongst this social group along the east coast in Arbroath, Brechin, Dundee,

156 In addition to 1493 there is direct evidence for 14 visits to Tain by the king, in March and July 1496, March 1497, October 1498, October 1501, October 1504, October 1506, July and October 1507, October 1509, after Easter 1510, May 1511, and August 1513. *TA*, i, 258, 260, 322–5, 362–4, ii, 123–126, 265–66, 464, 467, iii, 81, 294 & 412–16, iv, 419 & 436; *ER*, xiii, 12–13, 203, 209, 288 & 292; *RMS*, ii, no. 3575. There is indirect evidence of 4 more visits to the shrine. James is likely to have been on his way to or from Tain when he granted charters from Elgin in November 1494, Inverness in October 1499, Spynie in October 1505 and Fortrose in September 1506. *RMS*, ii, nos. 2224, 2505, 2887 & 2991.

157 Payments to Duthac lights and altars on his feast day were made at Dysart, Edinburgh and the abbey of Holyrood. Masses for the saint were paid for in Linlithgow, Tain and elsewhere. *TA*, i, 276, 303, 337 & 363, iii, 285, 287, iv, 39 & 18. A gilded relic and silver cross were gifted to the shrine in 1496, and a further relic was mended and offered at the shrine in 1506, the shirt first turned up in the royal collection in 1512, *TA*, i, 282 & 322, iii, 80, 280, iv, 354.

158 Turpie, "Our friend in the north", 19–20.

159 Weber, ed., *Battle of Flodden Field*, 27. Laing, ed. *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 27. Lindsay describes "Duthow" as "boird out of ane bloke", referring to a wooden statue of the saint.

160 Leslie includes two stories based around pilgrimages by the king to Tain, Cody & Murison, eds, *Historie of Scotland*, ii, 124 & 133.

161 Cooper, ed. *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis*, i, 15. For other possible early dedications to Duthac in the south, see Turpie, "Our friend in the north", 10–11.

Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Perth and St Andrews.¹⁶² This mercantile connection is further emphasised by the otherwise inexplicable presence of two burgesses in Tain in 1487, David Menzies of Edinburgh and James Levingtoun of Aberdeen, witnessing the royal charter that conferred collegiate status on the church.¹⁶³ The lack of dedications to the saint in smaller towns and rural parishes, except in Moray, Caithness and Orkney, suggest that his primary appeal outside the hinterland of the cult was to these townsmen from the larger burghs.¹⁶⁴

Devotional nationalism fails to explain the popularity of Duthac amongst this most cosmopolitan social group in the medieval kingdom. Duthac was not one of the myriad of Scottish saints associated in some fashion with the Wars of Independence and was slow to be embraced by the national church. Early signs of attempts to incorporate this distinctly northern saint into the historical narrative of the kingdom can be seen in the *Scotichronicon*. Bower connected Duthac with St Andrews by identifying the saint as a mentor of Maelbrigde, an early bishop of the diocese.¹⁶⁵ The sixteenth-century historians Maior and Boece were more familiar with Duthac than their predecessors were, which is unsurprising given that his shrine at Tain had been a regular part of the royal itinerary for the previous half century. Maior included a story based around Duthac's miraculous shirt, while, as we have already seen, Boece pondered his origins.¹⁶⁶ However, neither writer made an effort to weave Duthac into the political or ecclesiastical development of the kingdom. This existence on the peripheries of the Scottish political and ecclesiastical establishment, until the late fifteenth century, mirrors in many respects the position of the cult and shrine of St Ninian. Nevertheless, while it is possible to identify coordinated promotion of the shrine at Whithorn, and manipulation of the image of the saint, it is less apparent who was in control of the cult and shrine of Duthac.

Evidence for local attempts to promote the shrine at Tain before the fifteenth century is limited to the translation or other relic-related event that

162 The patrons of these altars (where such information exists) were merchants, guilds and prominent townsmen, except in the case of St Andrews where the altar was founded by a canon of Aberdeen cathedral, *ibid*, 14–17.

163 The charter was witnessed in Tain on 12 September before being confirmed in Edinburgh on 3 December, *RMS*, ii, no. 1694. The other witnesses were clerics.

164 Altars could be found in Elgin Cathedral and the Dominican friary in Inverness, while chapels were located in Kirkwall, Wick and Forres. Turpie, "Our friend in the north", 15–16.

165 *Chron. Bower*, iii, 345.

166 *Chron. Maior*, 273, *Chron. Boece*, ii, 229.

appears to have taken place in the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁶⁷ The next stage of recorded development was the building and organisation of a modern reliquary church, begun after a serious fire in 1427 had left the original church in ruins, and was finished by 1457.¹⁶⁸ Although small in scale, a sophisticated pilgrimage network had been developed in Tain by the time of the visits of James IV. In addition to the relics housed in the new church, two further ruined chapels were part of the pilgrim itinerary.¹⁶⁹ The first of these was the reputed birthplace of the saint located close to the shore, while the second was the original reliquary church, badly damaged by the aforementioned fire.¹⁷⁰ Once inside the main church a rood screen flanked by two altars, probably dedicated to Mary and the Holy Cross, separated the crowds from the high altar on which would have been displayed the principal relics.¹⁷¹ The organisation of the northern shrine resembles most closely the layout of St Andrews after James Haldenstone's renovations in the 1420s, although the arrangement was fairly common and could be seen at Durham and a number of other English shrines.¹⁷² Hints of active promotion of the cult outside of Tain can also be seen in references to a pardoner displaying a Duthac relic in Stirling in 1508 and in Edinburgh in 1511.¹⁷³

Management of the shrine and the construction of the new church appear to have been carried out at a local level, with limited support from prominent ecclesiastical or secular patrons. The bishops of Ross had their own patron, Boniface of Rosemarkie, who was depicted on their episcopal

167 While there are a number of references to this event in local histories, most notably, Robert W. Munro & Jean Munro, *Tain through the Centuries* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005), 16, there is no surviving references in contemporary sources.

168 The church was certainly completed by 1458 when the Exchequer Rolls list a payment by James II referring to the "nova fundacione" at Tain, *ER*, vi, 465.

169 Fawcett, "The Architectural framework for the cult of saints", 74. For the similarities of the arrangement at Tain to other reliquary shrines in the British Isles see Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, 78–9.

170 The ruined chapel on the links with its resident hermit was the reputed birthplace of the saint. In 1504 this was described as the chapel "quair he was born". The church burnt in 1427 was described as "sanct Duthios chapel in the Kirk yard of Tain" in 1504. *TA*, ii, 125 & 265.

171 These relics included the saint's head encased in silver, his breastbone in a gold container and the portable shrine, MacGill, ed, *Tain and Balnagown Documents*, i, 8.

172 McRoberts, "The Glorious House of St Andrews", 66–79.

173 The relic was the saint's "coup". It cannot be stated for certain whether this was an independent activity on the part of the pardoner or part of the wider institutional promotion, *TA*, iv, 43 & 180.

seals throughout the period.¹⁷⁴ The only bishop mentioned in connection to the shrine was Thomas Hay (1483–92), who was involved in upgrading Tain to collegiate status in 1487.¹⁷⁵ It is likely to have been the vicar of Tain, a prebend of the cathedral chapter of Rosemarkie, who was in direct control of the site. The vicar is first mentioned in conjunction with the shrine in 1457, after which time he was also town provost. The officer seems to have played a more direct role in the operation of the shrine at the end of the fifteenth century and was a central figure during the royal visits.¹⁷⁶ Secular control of the town was in the hands of prominent local families, and invested with the important position of town baillie.¹⁷⁷ Conflict over the earldom of Ross between the Leslies, Stewarts and MacDonalds, each of whose main territorial interest was at some distance from Easter Ross, meant that interference from external secular authorities in the management of the town was perfunctory during the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁸ Although some care was taken to present the shrine to pilgrims, presumably by this combination of local secular and religious authorities, Duthac was not subject to the sustained promotion that contributed to the success of the Ninian cult in this period.

174 Boniface and Peter appeared on the seals of Robert (1255–70×1), and John Bullock (1418–1439×40), as well as on the chapter seals, Stevenson & Wood, eds. *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 160–163.

175 *RMS*, ii, no. 1694.

176 The town vicar is mentioned as early as 1226, but did not play any role in the major events such as the canonisation petition of 1418 or the inquest of 1439. However, it was at his house that William Crichton stayed in 1483–4 when fleeing from the wrath of James III, and various vicars played a role in the later royal visits. Innes, eds., *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii, 159.

177 This position was held by the MacCullochs of Plaid from 1439. Jean Munro & R.W. Munro, eds, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336–1493* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1986), 39. The most significant local families were the Munros of Foulis and Rosses of Balnagown.

178 Norman Macdougall, “Achilles’ Heel? The Earldom of Ross, the Lordship of the Isles, and the Stewart Kings, 1449–1507”, in *Alba. Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* eds. Edward J. Cowan and R. Andrew Macdonald (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), 248–75. There is little evidence to connect the Leslies or Albany Stewarts to the cult or Tain but the Macdonald earls took a somewhat closer interest, appointing a new town baillie and presiding over the inquest in 1439. Munro & Munro, eds, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles*, 43–5. The local tradition that Euphemia, countess of Ross (d.1394×98), was involved in construction of the church is also unsupported. Harry G. Slade, *The Collegiate Kirk of St Duthac of Tain and The Abbey of Fearn* (Tain: Tain and District Museum Trust, 2000), 10.

7 Duthac's Hair Shirt and Other Miracles

The success of the Duthac cult in later medieval Scotland cannot be adequately explained by royal patronage, patriotism or active promotion. What then prompted the conspicuous interest of the people of the north, the townsmen of Scotland's major burghs and the Stewart kings, in this particular saint? According to the Martyrology of Aberdeen, people designated as "Hibernie" made up a significant proportion of the pilgrims at Tain in the early sixteenth century.¹⁷⁹ The renown of the saint in Gaelic speaking Scotland is apparent from a brief reference to "Dubthach, a saint of holy power", from a poem in the sixteenth-century compilation known as Book of the Dean of Lismore, and from the marking of his feast day in two liturgical calendars from Argyll.¹⁸⁰ This popularity amongst the "commune pepill" in the north, whether they be Gaelic or English speakers, is a consistent theme in late medieval and post-reformation descriptions of the cult and shrine.¹⁸¹ Some of these commentators, especially the English poet who described the saint as the "demi-god of Ross", and Ralph Hollinshead who commented that Duthac's relics were "had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (...) than the holy gospel of God and merits of his son", were clearly uncomfortable with some aspects of this popular cult.¹⁸²

Scottish clerics like Haldenstone and Bower may also have been aware of this unorthodox reputation and were keen to bring the saint into the Scottish political and cultural mainstream in the fifteenth century. This motivation may have played a role in the commissioning of a new and more standardised *vita* of the saint that accompanied the canonisation attempt of 1418. Sadly no longer extant, this *Vita* was probably the source for the lessons in the Aberdeen Breviary.¹⁸³ Frustratingly, the better attested mercantile patrons of the cult,

179 This somewhat ambiguous term was used in contrast to other pilgrims described as *Britannie*. It could have been intended to either refer directly to the Irish, or to Gaelic speakers generally. Forbes, *Kalenders of Scottish Saints*, 129.

180 William J. Watson, ed., *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1937), 137; Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours*, Appendix 3, 27; BL Egerton MS 2899, fol. 2.

181 Haldenstone, Boece and Leslie mention his popularity with the common people. Baxter, ed, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 5; *Chron. Boece*, ii, 229; Cody & Murison, eds, *Historie of Scotland*, i, 43 & 355.

182 Weber, ed., *Battle of Flodden Field*, 27; Hollinshead, *The Scottish Chronicle*, i, 8.

183 As his source for this information Bower referred to a "life of the glorious and excellent confessor", which may well have been a new *vita* commissioned as part of the canonisation process of 1418. *Chron. Bower*, iii, 343.

men like John Scherer in Aberdeen, William Cranstoun in Edinburgh and Malcolm Guthrie in Brechin, also provide little indication as to why they chose to honour Duthac rather than the myriad of other biblical, Pan-European or local saints. A key factor in the initial engagement with the saint and shrine by James II and his successors was political expediency. Aside from strategic aims in the north, little direct evidence has survived on what exactly attracted Scottish monarchs from James II to James V to the saint. What therefore can the surviving literary and hagiographical sources from the later middle ages tell us about the reputation of the saint, and how may this have attracted the “commune pepill”, merchants and kings?

One specific trait which may go some way to explaining the fascination that Duthac held for James IV and the Stewarts was a connection to warfare. The first hint of this association is provided by Maior, who noted that a prominent relic associated with the saint, his hair shirt, had a reputation for protecting its wearer from harm.¹⁸⁴ It was worn by Hugh, earl of Ross, at the Battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, although it let him down badly as the nobleman was killed in action.¹⁸⁵ This military connection was expanded upon by Chambers, who noted that Duthac had a reputation for predicting the result of military encounters. According to Chambers, the saint had prophesied Scottish defeats at the hands of English and Danish forces, and their victory at Largs in 1263.¹⁸⁶ Although this association does not feature in the miracles of the saint in the Aberdeen Breviary, and was not mentioned by Boece or Leslie, there is evidence to suggest that it was known to James III and James IV. It was in 1482, shortly before an anticipated English invasion, that James III founded a chaplainry in honour of the saint in Tain.¹⁸⁷ More striking is the final visit made to the shrine by James IV in August of 1513, in his last act before joining the army for the Flodden campaign. August was an unusual time of year for the king to visit Tain, he was typically there in March, May or October.¹⁸⁸ James, who had the hair shirt of Duthac in his personal reliquary collection, may well have

184 *Chron. Maior*, 66–67.

185 The shirt may have been the one worn by Duthac in one of his early miracles. Sent to collect some coals from a blacksmith, the cruel man shovelled the coals into the young Duthac's lap. The saint however, carried them home without burning himself or his shirt. Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 73–75.

186 Chambers, *De Scotorum fortitudine*, 112–3.

187 *RMS*, ii, no.1513.

188 The king was given expenses money of £66 on the 8 August, *TA*, iv, 419 & 436. The army mustered and invaded England sometime between 22 and 24 August. Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1997), 272–4. This was the only recorded visit by the king to the shrine in August.

been visiting the shrine in order to get the saint's verdict on the outcome of the forthcoming invasion of England.¹⁸⁹

This military link is the only specific trait associated with the saint. The 1418 canonisation petition and the life of the saint from the Aberdeen Breviary do however, provide a strong sense of Duthac's general reputation. He was characterised as a confessor, a holy man whose sanctity stemmed from his actions and example rather than from the manner of this death. Haldenstone, the author of the petition in 1418, stressed the saint's simple and austere lifestyle, noting that a reputation for the miraculous began during his youth and continued after his death.¹⁹⁰ The legends in the Aberdeen Breviary expanded upon this image of kindness and austerity, attributing a series of miracles to the saint. The miracles are unspectacular, with themes revolving around the control of nature, inclement weather, the mitigation of minor ailments and, perhaps most significantly, of famine.¹⁹¹ When we combine these themes with the existence of the hair shirt reliquary, and an apparent repudiation of his noble background to serve the poor, it is clear that Duthac was being presented as a mendicant-style saint.¹⁹² Based on the legends of Francis of Assisi, these saints, who were particularly common in the Mediterranean in the later middle ages, had a reputation for approachability and the performance of simple but useful miracles.¹⁹³

It is Duthac's connection to this common and popular saint type, labelled by Duffy as the "kind neighbour", that provides the most compelling explanation of the remarkable success of the cult in late medieval Scotland.¹⁹⁴ This type was one of the most popular across Europe in this period because these saints were believed to be the most effective at mitigating the pressures placed on the late medieval population by the disasters of the fourteenth century. Duthac's general reputation for the performance of practical miracles, such as dealing with inclement weather and food shortages, goes some way to explaining his popularity with the northern Scottish populace. The strict brand of piety displayed by the saint would also have proved particularly attractive to James IV, who was a major patron of the Observant Franciscans, and reputedly had his

189 The powers of the shirt seem to have been held in high regard by James IV who had it mended in 1512, *TA*, iv, 354.

190 Baxter, ed, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 4–6 & 385.

191 Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 72–77.

192 Neither the 1418 petition nor the AB specifically mentions the repudiation of wealth but Duthac's noble birth and later austere life imply this.

193 Weinstein & Bell, *Saints and Society*, 144, Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 190–212.

194 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 161.

own hair shirt.¹⁹⁵ These reformed mendicants attracted patronage in all the major Scottish towns and it may have been the austere character of Duthac, as well as his reputation for the miraculous, that prompted his popularity amongst the mercantile elite. It was his popularity with this group that led to the dissemination of the cult on a national scale, which in turn combined with the political importance of the saint and shrine in the north, to prompt the adoption of the saint by the royal house at the end of the fifteenth century. Within a movement like the cult of the saints, in which fashion played such an important part, in the later middle ages Duthac and his cult were firmly in vogue.

8 The New Friends. Fillan, Monan and Triduana

Royal interest in Ninian and Duthac was only one factor in the broad popularity of those saints in late medieval Scotland. In the same period the intervention of individual monarchs had a more dramatic and measurable impact on the status of three other Scottish saints. The first of these saints was Fillan. His cult was centred on Glendochart in Western Perthshire, where a small abbey or priory dedicated to the saint possessed a shrine, bell and arm relic.¹⁹⁶ The origins of the saint are typically shadowy, and the Fillan whose 9 January feast day began to appear in Scottish calendars from the fifteenth century appears to have been a composite of several similarly named holy men with Irish connections.¹⁹⁷ In the calendars, Fillan was identified as an abbot and confessor, and it is this saint type that informs the only extended account of his career, found in the Aberdeen Breviary. The lessons in the breviary described Fillan as a monastic founder, famed for his personal discipline and control over animals.¹⁹⁸ In a fairly common hagiographical trope the compilers of the breviary expanded the account of his life by connecting Fillan to two other West Perthshire and North Lennox saints, his mother Kentigerna (13 January) and maternal uncle Comgan (21 October).¹⁹⁹ The reason for this need to flesh out

195 Various friaries received gifts from James on his way to and from Tain, Macdougall, *James IV*, 216–17.

196 The earliest record of the priory of Strath Fillan comes from 1319: William Lindsay et al., eds, *Charters, bulls and other documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1908), nos. 126–127.

197 Simon Taylor, “The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland,” in *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages—Studies in the Cultural History of North West Europe*, eds. Thomas R. Lischka and Lorna E.M. Walker (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 176–181.

198 Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 22–27.

199 *Ibid.*, 18–21 & 244–247.

his legends was that in the later middle ages the status of his cult had been transformed by the patronage of a Scottish king.

According to Boece, royal favour for Fillan stemmed from a miraculous event that occurred shortly before the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. Robert I and his troops were astounded, and also inspired, when a silver case carrying the arm relic of St Fillan miraculously opened and closed of its own volition.²⁰⁰ Boece's chronicle, written some two hundred years after the battle, is the only account of the conflict to mention the presence of a Fillan relic at Bannockburn.²⁰¹ Stuart has suggested that a more plausible explanation for Bruce's interest in the saint may have been an encounter with Fillan and his priestly representatives during an earlier stage in the wars. Robert did spend some time in West Perthshire in the vicinity of Glendochart following defeat at Methven in 1306.²⁰² While neither explanation can be verified, it is clear that Robert had a personal affinity for the saint which was recognised by his supporters and successors. The king made two conspicuous endowments of the priory of Strath Fillan during his lifetime, and his illegitimate son, Robert Bruce of Liddesdale, made a significant grant of £20 to the church on his father's death in 1329.²⁰³ Late medieval dedications to the saint in the eastern lowlands of Scotland, most notably those at Aberdour, Pittenweem and Forgan in Fife, were also the responsibility of prominent Bruce supporters, Thomas Randolph, James Douglas and the bishop of St Andrews, William Lamberton.²⁰⁴ The link to Lamberton may also explain the foundation of an altar dedicated to Fillan in the burgh church of the Holy Trinity in St Andrews sometime before 1450.²⁰⁵

Two chapels dedicated to the saint at Doune Castle near Stirling are the earliest evidence of royal Stewart interest in Fillan. They were probably founded by Bruce's great grandson, Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany (d.1420). According to Bower, Robert had taken a public oath in 1403 that by "God

200 *Chron. Boece*, ii, 273–274.

201 There is no reference to Fillan at Bannockburn in Barbour, Wyntoun or Bower.

202 John Stuart, "Historical Notices of St Fillan's Crozier, and of the devotion of King Robert the Bruce to St Fillan", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 12 (1877), 143.

203 The first grant was made in 1318, Duncan ed. *Acts of Robert I*, no. 134. The second grant is only recorded in a 1498 confirmation, *RMS*, ii, no. 2458, *ER*, i, 214.

204 Taylor, "The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland", 188–191.

205 The earliest reference to the chaplainry was made in 1450 when it was under the patronage of the town council, Rankin, *Church of the Holy Trinity St Andrews*, App. no.21. The only other altar dedicated to the saint in this period could be found in Perth, the nearest major town to the shrine in Glendochart. It was under the patronage of the mercantile Rae family, NRS Records of King James VI Hospital, Perth, Altarages, GD79/4/133.

and St Fillan” he would relieve Cocklaws castle from the English.²⁰⁶ By invoking Fillan as the guarantor of the oath, Robert both brought up the spectre of his illustrious ancestor, and referred to a saint who was the patron of lands in Perthshire that had recently come into the possession of the Duke.²⁰⁷ This Stewart connection resurfaced in 1488 when St Fillan’s bell was present at the coronation of James IV. James would note his personal devotion to the saint in 1498 when granting a charter confirming gifts made to the priory of Glendochart by Robert I.²⁰⁸ The Bannockburn miracle story was recorded in 1527, a generation after this invocation of St Fillan by a Scottish monarch. While the story may have been a local tradition picked up by the chronicler, it seems more likely that it was an effort on Boece’s part to explain the conspicuous patronage of the saint and his arm relic by Robert I, prominent Bruce supporters, and some of his Stewart successors. It was this patronage that transformed an otherwise obscure Perthshire saint into a figure of national renown.

The cult of St Monan was based in the east neuk of Fife, centred on a church in the small town of Inverey, now named St Monans. His feast day was 1 March, the same as a sixth-century Irish saint, Moenu of Clonfert. The correspondence of that feast day, and the similarity of the two names, has led to the reasonable suggestion that the Monan cult in eastern Fife was a localised offshoot of the Irish saint.²⁰⁹ This otherwise minor local cult was brought to the attention of Scottish chroniclers by the conspicuous interest taken in the saint by David II. Between 1362 and 1371, David lavished £613 on building a royal chapel on the site of Monan’s shrine.²¹⁰ Bower explained this patronage as the fulfilment of a vow made by the king. The vow stemmed from a visit by David, who travelled to the shrine seeking the saint’s help to remove an arrow barb that had been lodged in his head since the battle of Neville’s Cross (1346). After praying to the saint, the barb miraculously “leapt forth from his wound” and David was cured of the troublesome headaches that had plagued him since the battle.²¹¹ An

206 *Chron. Bower*, viii, 55.

207 The barony of Glendochart became an Albany possession in 1375. Taylor, “The Cult of St Fillan in Scotland”, 191.

208 *RMS*, ii, no. 2458.

209 There are of number of other possible candidates as names with the Mo- prefix are common, Watson, *History of Celtic Place names in Scotland*, 294–95, Taylor & Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3*, 546–47.

210 *ER*, ii, 114, 137, 169, 175, 178, 221, 243, 289, 307, 333, 347 & 357.

211 *Chron. Bower*, vii, 260–261. In the Aberdeen Breviary the barb became a cross-bow bolt, Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 63.

alternative local tradition suggests that this devotion to the saint arose from David having been saved from shipwreck on the Fife coast close to the shrine.²¹²

As Michael Penman has suggested, David's devotion to Monan may have had more to do with political expediency than the miraculous.²¹³ The building of a royal chapel in Fife helped to reinforce royal control over the lucrative earldom which was a bone of contention between David and his rival, Robert the Steward (the future Robert II) in the 1350s and 1360s. With his feast day falling within the king's birthday week, devotion to Monan may also have been intended to form the focus of a royal cult of chivalry. Whatever the motivation, David's death in 1371 put an end to St Monan's royal patronage. However, it had boosted the status of the cult to the degree that the saint's feast day began to be marked regularly in Scottish calendars from the late fourteenth century. By the sixteenth century a small range of altars had been founded in his honour by the Carnegie family in Dundee, by the Tailors guild in Perth and by Elizabeth Cunningham of Beltoun in Dunbar.²¹⁴ Royal patronage in the fourteenth century also seems to have prompted efforts by Wyntoun and Bower to explore the origins of the saint. They provided Monan with a Scottish background, noting that he was the only survivor of a group of Hungarian missionaries brought to Scotland by St Adrian in the ninth century.²¹⁵ Adrian was the patron saint of the priory of May, which held the land on which the church of St Monan was built, so it was both a natural and politically expedient move to connect the two saints in this way. It was this Hungarian connection that was accepted by the compilers of the Aberdeen Breviary in 1510, who included the arrow legend and one further miracle in which Monan cured a girl of insanity.²¹⁶

Outwardly the trajectory of the Monan cult appears remarkably similar to that of Fillan, whereby an otherwise obscure local saint with a small rural shrine was boosted into the top rank of Scottish saints by the conspicuous patronage of a Bruce monarch. Later chroniclers and the Aberdeen Breviary then provided the saint with a Scottish provenance, connecting him to other prominent local holy men. However, the significant difference between Monan

²¹² This tradition surrounds Davy's Rock, a tiny island situated off shore close to the site of the church. Taylor & Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3*, 546–47; *Chron. Bower*, vii, 464.

²¹³ David's birthday was 5 March, Penman, "Christian Days and Knights", 258–61.

²¹⁴ Lamb, *Dundee. Its Quaint and Historic buildings*, xxxivf; DDARC Dundee Burgh and Head Court Books, 1550–1555, fol. 54r; PKDA Perth, Documents relating to ecclesiastical affairs, B59/28/10; *Yester Writs*, no. 373. The earliest reference to the altar in Perth is in 1600, when the burgess who held the chaplainry transferred the lands to the Tailor guild.

²¹⁵ *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, 179, *Chron. Bower*, i, 15.

²¹⁶ Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 62–65.

and Fillan is that there is very limited evidence for a local cult based around the saint in Fife prior to the intervention by David II. The only sure evidence for the existence of the cult before 1362 is the place-name Kilminning to the east of Crail.²¹⁷ One of a number of possible explanations for this is that the Monan cult was a local branch not of the cult of Moenu, but of Ninian. In both Boece and Maior's versions of the David II arrow legend, the miracle was said to have taken place at Whithorn rather than in Fife.²¹⁸ Interestingly, an excerpt from the Treasurer's Accounts of 1507 mentions a relic that had been intended for St Monan's being offered instead at Whithorn by James IV.²¹⁹ In Ireland, Ninian was known by the pet or diminutive form of his name, Mo-Ninn or Moinenn and a feast of a saint of that name is recorded under 16 September in the martyrologies of Tallaght and Donegal.²²⁰ Although Monan had a distinct feast day, the Moinenn spelling was used on occasion to refer to the Fife saint and it is possible that the cult that developed there in the fourteenth century was a localised offshoot of the Galloway saint.²²¹ Although in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the two cults became separated, perhaps partly due to the attempts by Wyntoun and Bower to identify Monan as a Scottish saint, the connection may have remained on a local level and prompted the confusion in Maior and Boece.²²²

There is also little evidence of a pre-existing cult of Triduana of Restalrig before she burst onto the national scene in the 1470s.²²³ It was James III who took a conspicuous interest in Triduana, founding a chaplainry in her reliquary church at Restalrig near Edinburgh in 1477, before building his chapel royal on the site in 1487. Following the king's death, the endowment of the church was

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 209 & 546–47.

²¹⁸ *Chron. Maior*, 293, *Chron. Boece*, ii, 258–60 & 328.

²¹⁹ *TA*, iv, 34.

²²⁰ Kenney, *Sources for the early history of Ireland*, 160; Best, ed. *Martyrology of Tallaght*, 71; O'Donovan, ed. *Martyrology of Donegal*, 249.

²²¹ Taylor & Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3*, 545–547. In the *Scotichronicon* the catalyst behind David's interest in Monan was both the arrow miracle and the saint's intervention to save the king from shipwreck, a trait for which Ninian was well known in the later middle ages. *Chron. Bower*, vii, 260–261.

²²² This connection has been ruled out by Macquarrie on linguistic grounds. Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 399.

²²³ Interestingly Triduana means three day fast in Latin, and it is possible that the cult may have developed from a misreading of a religious text. Taylor & Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3*, 599. In Cornwall a series of saints were mistaken from references to place-names in earlier liturgical documents. Nicholas Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 22 & 37.

completed by James IV and the minority government of James V.²²⁴ Why James chose to take an interest in this local saint is less clear. Unlike Monan and Fillan, no miracle stories have survived to explain his conspicuous patronage. The earliest liturgical reference to Triduana comes from St Andrews Foundation Legend A. In the legend Triduana was part of the group of missionaries who brought the relics of the Apostle to Scotland in the fourth century.²²⁵ An alternative tradition was noted in Wyntoun's chronicle, which placed Triduana in the missionary group led by Boniface in the sixth century.²²⁶ These legends contained common elements, both noting that Triduana was a virgin martyr and linking her to Rescobie in Angus. However, neither stated that she had died in Restalrig or was buried there. This element of the Triduana legends first appears in the Aberdeen Breviary, and may have been a reaction to the development of a shrine in Restalrig in the fifteenth century.²²⁷

In the Aberdeen Breviary it was noted that Triduana's beauty, in particular her striking eyes, had attracted the attentions of a local king. In an effort to evade these unwanted attentions, Triduana plucked out her eyes and sent them to her suitor.²²⁸ Although no images of the saint have survived, Triduana clutching her eyes impaled on a stick appears to have been the standard motif of the saint in by the early sixteenth century. Lindsay refers to her in 1550 as appearing in this pose.²²⁹ This legend and imagery led to a firm association between Triduana and the cure of eye disease. Two posthumous miracles in the Aberdeen Breviary involved the saint curing the blind, and Lindsay also noted that Scots made pilgrimages to her tomb to "mend thare eine".²³⁰ For half a century or so the cult prospered with relics of the saint gifted to the burgh church of St Andrews and Aberdeen Cathedral, altars founded in her honour in Brechin (b.1505), Dundee (b.1556), Edinburgh (b.1527) and Perth (b.1518), and her feast day (8 October) marked in surviving calendars.²³¹

224 RMS, ii, no. 1329; Laing, ed. *Registrum Domus de Soltre*, 282.

225 Taylor & Markus, *The Place-Names of Fife. Volume 3*, 599.

226 *Chron. Wyntoun*, iv, 123.

227 It is possible that some of her relics were translated to Restalrig in this period, although no record of such a transfer survives. Brown, "Saint Triduana of Restalrig?", 55–61.

228 Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 240–43.

229 "Quilk on her prok heth boith hir eine", Laing, ed. *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 27.

230 Macquarrie, ed. *Legends of Scottish Saints*, 242–43; Laing, ed. *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, iii, 30.

231 Gavin Dunbar gifted a silver reliquary to Aberdeen Cathedral in 1532. Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, 179; Rankin, *The Parish Church of the Holy Trinity*, 78–80; TA, iii, 66; DDARC Dundee Burgh and Head Court Books, 1555–1558, fol. 73r; Innes, ed. *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii*, no. 130; Fittis, *Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth*, 303.

Triduana belonged to a saint type whose main period of popularity was the later middle ages. Virgin Martyrs like Katherine of Alexandria and Margaret of Antioch, who had colourful and violent legends, were popular across Scotland and Western Europe in this period.²³² While Monan was believed to have cured David II's head injury, neither he nor Fillan developed a recognisable specialism. The evidence for somewhat more intense popularity of Triduana for a few generations in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century can be attributed to a combination of significant royal patronage, membership of a popular saint type and connection to a specific and useful miracle type.

9 The Old Friends. Columba and Kentigern

The cults of Columba and Kentigern would never recover fully from the decline in status caused by the political changes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These saints, whose shrines were located at Scotland's second and third most important and wealthy cathedrals, did however have rich and powerful supporters in the persons of the bishop and the cathedral chapters. They were also located at some of the few institutions in Scotland that had the resources and connections to support the creation of new saints in this period. One potential set of candidates for sainthood were the heroic bishops of the Wars of Independence, like Robert Wishart who defied Edward I, or William Sinclair who led the men of Fife and his own entourage against English invaders in 1317.²³³ In the later middle ages the chapters of large English churches like York Minster attracted pilgrims to pre-existing shrines by encouraging devotion to new saints who had been involved in the warfare and dynastic struggles of the fifteenth century.²³⁴ An alternative approach at Salisbury Cathedral saw the chapter focus on a long and arduous campaign to secure the canonisation of St Osmund, who had died in 1102.²³⁵ The ecclesiastical hierarchy at Dunkeld and Glasgow followed the latter example, pouring significant resources into the promotion of their established patron saints in the fifteenth and sixteenth

232 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 171–178.

233 Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 106, 193 & 197; *Chron. Bower*, vi, 383.

234 In addition to promoting St William, whose relics lay in the church, the clergy of York Minster dedicated altars to other northern saints like Cuthbert, John of Bridlington and prospective saints like John Scrope to widen the attractions for pilgrims. Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: religion and secular life in late medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), 298–318.

235 Osmund was finally canonised in 1456. Andrew Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England. The Diocese of Salisbury. 1250–1530* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 57–63.

centuries, rather than supporting the creation of new cults. This promotion was particularly marked at Dunkeld, where a series of bishops and members of the cathedral chapter made concerted efforts to promote the cult of St Columba both at the church and elsewhere in Scotland.

Efforts to encourage pilgrimage to the shrine at Dunkeld began as early as 1378 when John de Peebles (1378–90), citing the ruinous condition of the church due to “wars and pestilence”, was granted the right to offer an indulgence for pilgrims visiting on the feast day of St Columba.²³⁶ The right to grant a further indulgence for those visiting on the same day in 1448 was obtained by a later bishop, James Bruce (1441–47).²³⁷ Bruce also bequeathed money to finance four new chaplainries in the cathedral, while another bishop, Thomas Lauder (1452–75), decorated the church with a sequence of twenty murals depicting the miracles of St Columba, and provided the high altar with two statues of the saint.²³⁸ Bishops and members of the cathedral chapter were responsible for altars founded in honour of Columba in Dundee (1500), Edinburgh (1477), Perth (b.1514) and St Andrews (1493), and for gifting a paten and bell named after the saint to Dunkeld.²³⁹ This number of altars dedicated to Columba in lowland Scotland, each of which was founded by bishops and clergy with connections to Dunkeld or other centres of Columban worship, provides a somewhat warped view of the health of the cult in the later middle ages.

This false vision of a healthy and important Columban cult in late medieval lowland Scotland also owes much to the significant place given to the saint in the *Scotichronicon*. Intense anglophobia, matched by institutional pride in the abbey of Inchcolm, are the underlying themes of Bower’s chronicle.²⁴⁰ They combine in three miracle stories which were said to have occurred in the period 1332–85. The three stories described incidents in which Columba intervened to punish pirates and English soldiers who had violated the lands of the saint at Inchcolm and elsewhere.²⁴¹ Bower’s message was about the prestige and antiquity of the Augustinian house at Inchcolm, as reflected in the power of its guardian. As we saw in Chapter 1, Bower’s vision of Columba as an active defender of his followers and lands was built upon on an existing tradition at

236 CPL, *Benedict XIII*, 27.

237 This petition was granted after Bruce’s death in 1448, *CSSR*, 1447–71, no.199.

238 *Ibid*, no. 193. Innes, ed, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, 23–4.

239 Hannay, ed, *Rentale Dunkeldense*, 226 & 243; Innes, ed, *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii*, 122–3; Innes, ed, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, 45–6, 228 & 243; Rankin, *The Parish Church of Holy Trinity St Andrews*, 74–5.

240 Bower was abbot from 1417 to his death in 1449. One commentator has described Bower as a ‘professional Scotsman’, *Chron. Bower*, ix, 352.

241 *Ibid*, vii, 109, 119–21 & 399–403.

Inchcolm. This image of the saint is similar to the Hebridean tradition in which Columba was also shown acting as an effective defender of his followers and patrimony from invaders.²⁴² This style of saint was somewhat out of date in the later middle ages with the most popular intercessors, those like Ninian and Duthac, performing useful miracles rather than acting as vengeful guardians.

One Columban miracle story that has survived from the early sixteenth century does suggest an effort on the part of the shrine custodians to modernise the image of the saint. The pastoral and curative elements of this story were in keeping with the fashionable “kind neighbour” saint type. The miracle was said to have occurred in 1500 during a plague epidemic. Alexander Myln, a canon of Dunkeld writing in 1516, recalled that the residents of the cathedral city were spared contagion by the presence in the church of the relics of Columba. The swift and decisive action of the bishop, George Brown (1483–1515), also helped to extend the power of the saint to sufferers within the diocese. Brown dipped a Columban relic in water, blessed the liquid and sent it to the afflicted in the nearby village of Capeth.²⁴³ Those that drank the sanctified liquid were cured. One cynic however, refused it, stating that he would rather Brown “had sent to me the best of his ale”. Predictably the sceptic was soon dead, and laid to rest in a mass grave along with thirty others who had not taken “the water of St Columba”.²⁴⁴

There is little evidence that the promotional campaigns and attempts to modernise Columba’s image had an impact on pilgrim numbers at Dunkeld or Inchcolm. Both shrines were ignored by foreign and domestic observers in the later middle ages. Although it has been suggested that the fifteenth century saw “a new lease of life” for the Columban cult, the only change was a renewal of royal interest in the saint.²⁴⁵ The first king to take a significant interest in Columba since the thirteenth century was James IV, who bestowed patronage

242 He is a member of the “sombre batman” topos that Airlie has shown was perhaps the most common type in the insular world during that period. Stuart Airlie, “The view from Maastricht”, in *Scotland in Dark Age Europe*, ed. Barbara E. Crawford (St Andrews: University Press, 1994), 37.

243 This location has been identified by Taylor as the village of Caputh just off the A984, six miles to the east of Dunkeld. Simon Taylor, “Columba east of Drumalban; some aspects of the cult of Columba in eastern Scotland”, *Innes Review* 51 (2000), 119–20.

244 Myln strongly implies that others agreed with the cynic and were among the victims of the disease in the village. Innes, ed, *Vitae Dunkeldensis*, 43.

245 David Easson & Alastair Macdonald, eds, *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm* (Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1938), xxxii–xxxiv.

on Dunkeld, Inchcolm and Iona.²⁴⁶ In 1497, 1506 and 1512 the king stated that grants to Dunkeld and Inchcolm were made due to “the singular devotion that he held for St Columba”.²⁴⁷ Despite this protestation, there were considerable differences between the king’s relationship with Columba and his favourite saints, Ninian and Duthac. Aside from the gifts to Dunkeld and Inchcolm, the king did not include Columba in his general cycle of devotion. Despite the king staying on Inchcolm in 1507 and 1511, Columban shrines were also not part of his regular pilgrimage itinerary.²⁴⁸ While James does not appear to have valued Columba as an intercessor, he was aware of the political importance, and wealth, of Dunkeld and Inchcolm. He seems to have viewed Columba, like the royal patron Margaret, as one of the range of saints to whom he was expected to pay at least a token devotion.

The bishops and chapter of Glasgow used the same strategy of indulgences and shrine improvement to encourage pilgrims to the shrine of St Kentigern in the fifteenth century. They seem to have had some success, making £500 from the jubilee indulgence of 1450.²⁴⁹ In his supplications to the papacy, William Turnbull had been able to count on the support of James II. This renewed relationship between Glasgow and the crown was underlined on 20 April 1450, when James granted to Turnbull in regality the city, bishop’s forest, and barony.²⁵⁰ James also became a canon of the cathedral and further rewarded the bishop by supporting his creation of the University of Glasgow in 1451.²⁵¹ This positive relationship between the crown and Glasgow continued into the early part of the reign of James III, with the king granting three stones of wax to Glasgow because of the “particular devotion that we have towards Blessed Kentigern the Confessor and his mother Saint Teneu”.²⁵² In the 1480s, however, the king’s relationship with the bishop of Glasgow deteriorated dramatically, with Blacadder, bishop from 1484, joining the rebels in the civil war.²⁵³ Having chosen the winning side in 1488, Blacadder was rewarded with crown support

246 Although the minority government of James II initiated an inquiry into the lands of the abbey of Iona, and James III confirmed a grant by the earl of Morton to Inchcolm in 1480, neither monarch showed any obvious interest in the Columban cult. *RMS*, ii, no.1455, *CSSR*, 1433–1447, no.968.

247 *RMS*, ii, nos. 2347 & 3689; *ER*, xiii, 53n.

248 *TA*, iv, 130–1 & 176; Easson & Macdonald, eds, xxxii.

249 *CSSR*, 1447–1471, no. 239.

250 Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 356.

251 The king also gifted a tenement in Stirling to the cathedral, the first such crown grant since the thirteenth century, *ibid*, ii, 355 & 356.

252 *Ibid*, ii, 407 & 419.

253 Macdougall, *James III*, 288–91 & 320–321.

for the elevation of his see to archiepiscopal status, achieved in 1492, and the confirmation of all previous royal gifts and obligations.²⁵⁴ While the confirmation may have been political in nature, the charter referred to James IV's "singular devotion" for St Kentigern and his "special favour" for Blacadder.²⁵⁵

An atmosphere of special veneration for the saint seems to have existed at the royal court in the 1490s, where William Elphinstone was also a keen advocate of the cult. The influence of the bishop of Aberdeen created a secondary centre of the Kentigern cult in his diocese at the end of the fifteenth century. Elphinstone had spent his youth in Glasgow as a canon, and showed his devotion to Kentigern by displaying the saint on his episcopal seal.²⁵⁶ The bishop's interest in the saint seems to have filtered down to his subordinates with Duncan Shearer, an assistant to Elphinstone in the Aberdeen Breviary project, decorating the altar of St Duthac in St Nicholas's burgh church with a silver chalice bearing the images of Moluag, Pothinus, Kentigern and Brigid in 1503.²⁵⁷ In 1502 an altar, jointly dedicated to Kentigern and his mother Thanay, could be found in the burgh church of Aberdeen, under the patronage of another cleric, Walter Leslie.²⁵⁸ Kentigern's brief period in vogue at the Scottish court was confirmed by the foundation of altars dedicated to the saint in Currie by royal secretary Archibald Whitelaw; and in Alloa by Alexander Erskine.²⁵⁹ James IV continued to show a personal interest in Kentigern throughout his reign, twice visiting the shrine and making offerings on the saint's feast day on at least four occasions.²⁶⁰ However, the brief revival of the cult in court circles did not survive the deaths of Blacadder in 1508 and James in 1513, and there is no evidence that James V showed any interest in the saint.

254 A further grant of land to the cathedral was made in 1489, Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 340 & 335.

255 *RMS*, ii, no.1915.

256 A statue of Kentigern was also placed on the altar of the Virgin at the chapel of King's College in Aberdeen. Stevenson & Wood, eds. *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, i, 213. In addition to this, a grant by James IV to pay for a doctor in medicine at the new university mentioned his devotion to Kentigern, *ER*, xi, 65–69.

257 Innes, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii, 64.

258 This is the only extant example of an altar dedicated to both Kentigern and his mother (Thanay) in late medieval Scotland, *ibid*, ii, 341.

259 Whitelaw was Archdeacon of St Andrews in Lothian and a sub-dean of Glasgow cathedral; he founded an altar in Currie Parish Church in 1493. Robert Lord Erskine's landed interest was in Stirlingshire and Clackmannanshire; he founded an altar in Alloa in 1497, *RMS*, ii, nos. 2154 & 2377.

260 James is recorded as visiting the shrine and making offerings in 1495 and 1506, *TA*, ii, 242, iii, 73, he made offerings on the feast day in 1488, 1494, 1507 & 1512, i, 102, 240, *TA*, iii, 286, iv, 182.

While royal and aristocratic patronage fluctuated, the growing use of Mungo as a personal name was just one of a number of indications that popular interest in Kentigern remained strong in the diocese of Glasgow and across southern Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From the fourteenth century the most regular benefactors of Glasgow Cathedral were minor nobles from the hinterland of the shrine, burgesses from the town, and clerics.²⁶¹ This pattern was also evident in the few traces of the cult outside of the diocese of Glasgow in the later middle ages, with Alexander Erskine's 1497 dedication in Alloa something of a rare exception.²⁶² Other altars dedicated to the saint were founded by clerics: John Grey in Edinburgh in 1451, James Newton in Jedburgh in 1479, and James Fenton in Perth in 1523.²⁶³ A number of references to the saint can also be found in literary works from the period, often using the affectionate nickname of Mungo rather than Kentigern.²⁶⁴ These literary references, in conjunction with continuing patronage of the shrine and wider cult by minor nobles, clerics and townsmen, and the growing popularity of the use of his name as a forename, present an image of a popular local patron and saint of civic significance who was still considered to be an effective intercessor in the heartlands of the cult into the sixteenth century.

10 New Old Saints in Late Medieval Scotland

The most striking trend in devotion to Scottish saints in the later middle ages was the dynamic growth of the cult of Ninian in Scotland and elsewhere. Ninian, to whose shrine pilgrims were still "streaming" from "England, Ireland and the neighbouring regions" in 1539, if we are to believe James v, displayed many of the traits that characterised the popular saints of the later middle ages.²⁶⁵ What was unusual about the Ninian cult was that it was not based

261 There were numerous dedications by clerics to specific altars and the cathedral in general in the late fifteenth century. Shead, "Benefactions to the Medieval Cathedral and See of Glasgow", 14. Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 386 395 447 & 499, 446, 476, 480, 481, 485, 451, 468, 469, 495 & 489.

262 RMS, ii, no. 2377.

263 Innes, ed. *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii*, 99 & 130, RMS, ii, no. 1432, NRS, Records of King James VI Hospital, Perth, Altarages, GD79/4/94. Edinburgh was also home to a fraternity of St Mungo that is first mentioned just prior to the Reformation, unfortunately no information survives regarding membership. Both the references to the fraternity come from 1566. Adam, ed. *Edinburgh Records. The Burgh Accounts*, i, 83 & 235.

264 Taylor, eds, *St Albans Chronicle*, 310–11. The saint also appears twice as Mungo within the satirical poetry of David Lindsay. Laing, ed. *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, i, 87, iii, 30.

265 Hannay, ed. *Letters of James v*, 363.

around a new saint, but was an established cult, reinvented in the twelfth century and further adapted in the fourteenth century. The cross-border nature of the cult was also highly unusual. Ninian's popularity in northern England provides further evidence of the surprising durability of Anglo-Scottish spiritual and cultural ties in the later middle ages.²⁶⁶ The emergence of interest in Duthac on a national scale and the short-lived but acute interest in the cults of three other local saints, Fillan, Monan and Triduana, was also striking. Like Ninian, these were not 'new' saints as such. They were individuals that late medieval Scots, or at least the chronicle writers and compilers of the *Aberdeen Breviary*, considered to have lived in the distant past, but whose cults had been practically unknown outside of the hinterland of their shrines before the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While it was his general reputation that played the most significant role in the popularity of Duthac, royal patronage was central to the shorter periods spent in the limelight by Fillan, Monan and Triduana. It was this phenomenon of the revived or recycled cult, combined with the introduction of new Marian, Passion, and Pan-European cults, that filled the vacuum left by the lack of new Scottish holy men and women in the later middle ages.

266 Crumplin, "Cuthbert the cross-border saint in the twelfth century", 119–129.

Politics: The Stewart Kings and Scottish Saints, c. 1440–1560

In al Scotland was na pilgrimage sa solemne
as that quilke was vowit to S. Duthak,
with Kingis, Princis and the commoune peple.¹

For exiled Catholics like John Leslie, this image of kings and ordinary Scots mingling at the shrine of St “Duthak” in Tain represented happier times. By pointing to the close bond that James IV had developed with Tain and St Duthac, Leslie and other exiled writers reminded their contemporary Stewart kings, James VI & I (1567–1625) and Charles I (1625–49), of the traditional relationship between the dynasty and popular Catholicism.² Monarchs like James IV were well aware that exploitation of the cult of saints was a vital and expected part of local, national and international politics in the middle ages.³ By obtaining relics, regularly marking important feasts, and visiting their shrines, medieval kings and other secular rulers made concerted efforts to enlist the patronage of important national, regional and local saints and the religious communities that possessed their relics.⁴ Through this patronage these monarchs could emphasise the legitimacy of their rule and project their power and authority into far flung parts of the kingdom. We have already seen the important role that patronage of St Andrew played in the high politics of the Anglo-Scottish conflict in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On a more local level, patronage of Ninian and Whithorn formed an important part of Bruce policy in Galloway after 1306, while David II’s interest in the cult of St Monan was partly stimulated by conflict over the earldom of Fife. Robert II and Robert III also displayed a marked interest in saints connected to their family estates in Bute, while James I (1406–1437) exploited the sainted reputation of his murdered brother David in his conflict with the Albany Stewarts in the 1420s.⁵

1 Cody & Murison, eds. *Historie of Scotland, written by John Leslie*, i, 335.

2 *Ibid.*, i, xvii, Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College, Paris, 1603–1792* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), 14, 30–31 & 205–206.

3 Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, 111.

4 Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, 98–103.

5 Steve Boardman, “The Gaelic World and Early Stewart Court”, in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, “The great ill-will of the Lowlander?”: Lowland perceptions of the Highlands, medieval and modern*, eds.

While these kings were well aware of the political cachet that could be generated by identifying with local cults, there is evidence from the mid-fifteenth century of a more direct and strategic engagement with these saints by a series of Scottish monarchs.

1 Periphery and Core in Fifteenth-century Scotland

This more direct approach to important regional saints can be traced to the reign of James II, who displayed a conspicuous interest in the shrines and cults of Ninian, Kentigern and Duthac. Following the death of Robert I in 1329 there was a surprising gap in significant royal engagement with the flourishing cult of St Ninian. Although Margaret Logie visited the shrine in 1365, her husband David II displayed little interest in the saint.⁶ No evidence survives to indicate that either Robert II or Robert III had a particular interest in Ninian, with the first hint of a renewal of royal interest in the saint occurring in the reign of James I.⁷ In 1427 James passed the legislation concerning pilgrimage to Whithorn, and in 1430 he confirmed the priory in all its possessions.⁸ The king had a broad range of pious interests including devotion to Marian and Christ cults, as well as English saints, a legacy of his time in captivity south of the border.⁹ James also maintained the traditional familial devotion to Brendan, encouraged the development of Andrew into a national patron saint and promoted the embryonic cult of his own murdered brother, David, duke of Rothesay.¹⁰ Ninian falls some way down the scale of the king's devotions and, perhaps surprisingly given his lengthy imprisonment, James does not seem to have identified with the saint's reputation for freeing captives.

One explanation for this neglect may be that, unlike Robert I and his supporters, David II and the early Stewarts did not have a significant territorial stake in Galloway. In order to combat the pro-Balliol/Comyn faction in the region, which had been revitalised during the second phase of the Wars of Independence in the 1330s, these lands had been granted to crown place-men.

Martin Macgregor and Dauvit Broun (Glasgow: University Press, 2009), 87–99 & *idem*, “A saintly sinner? The martyrdom of David, Duke of Rothesay”.

6 *ER*, ii, 226.

7 Boardman, “The Gaelic World and Early Stewart Court”, 87–99.

8 *RMS*, ii, nos. 107 & 164.

9 Scott, “The Court and Household of James I”, 293 & 350–353.

10 *Ibid.*, 350–53, Boardman, “A saintly sinner? The martyrdom of David, Duke of Rothesay”, 87–104.

They were conferred first on Malcolm Fleming in 1341, and later on Archibald “the Grim” Douglas (d.1401), who was made lord of Galloway in 1369.¹¹ By 1388, when Archibald became 3rd earl of Douglas, his kindred had extended their control over the lordships of Annandale, Nithsdale and Eskdale, as well as the earldom of Wigtown where Whithorn was located.¹² The poor survival of the Black Douglas family papers and of the institutional records from Whithorn means that evidence of their engagement with the Ninian cult is patchy. Margaret Stewart, the wife of the 4th earl, endowed a chapel in the priory and was involved in a bridge building project over a river close to the shrine, while her husband Archibald (d.1424) conceded various lands to Whithorn in 1424.¹³ There is, however, evidence of a quickening of Douglas interest in the shrine from the 1440s. This patronage coincided with the election in 1447 of William Douglas, an illegitimate son of the 5th earl, as prior of Whithorn.¹⁴ Shortly after his kinsman William had been elected prior, the 8th earl (d.1452) made a series of grants to the church.¹⁵

This conspicuous patronage of Whithorn was part of the process by which the earl attempted to reassert Black Douglas lordship in the southwest. Douglas control of the region had been irreparably damaged by the transfer of power within the kindred that followed the murder of the 6th earl and his brother at the Black Dinner in 1440. This dramatic event loosened both the ecclesiastical and temporal bonds that had been forged by the family in the region during the previous century, a weakness that would be ruthlessly exploited by James II and his council in the 1450s.¹⁶ Following the death of his aunt Margaret, the widow of the 4th earl (d.1424), in January 1451, James began to interfere in Galloway, attempting to win the loyalty of key local community leaders.¹⁷ Whithorn, as a result of the possession of the relics of St Ninian, was the predominant ecclesiastical centre in the region. This meant that it formed a natural focus for crown patronage, as it had done in the 1310s and 20s during another period of political fragmentation and conflict in Galloway. In 1451 James added the priory’s Ayrshire holdings to the pre-existing regality, taking the house and

11 Webster, ed, *Acts of David II*, no. 451, Penman, *David II*, 82 & 388–389.

12 Michael Brown, *The Black Douglasses* (East Linton: John Donald, 1998), 60–64 & 171–175.

13 *CPL*, *Benedict XIII*, 156, *RMS*, ii, no. 12. The endowment of a chapel by Margaret is also mentioned in this charter.

14 Dilworth, *Whithorn Priory*, 5.

15 These included granting the church its Galloway lands in regality and an annual gift of 20 merks from the lands of Merton, *RMS*, ii, no. 383.

16 Part of this process was the marriage of William to Margaret, the daughter of the murdered 6th earl in 1444, Brown, *Black Douglasses*, 273.

17 *Ibid*, 255–67, 286 & 288–99.

its lands from the jurisdiction of the Douglasses.¹⁸ The king also confirmed the priory's landed possessions and rights and made fresh gifts to the church in what has been described as a clear attempt to "undermine the earl of Douglas's position in Galloway".¹⁹ Following his final victory over the Black Douglasses in 1455, the lordship of Galloway was annexed to the crown, and for the rest of his brief reign James continued to be a major patron of Whithorn.²⁰

The close relationship between the Stewarts and Whithorn was continued during the reign of James III, who visited the shrine with his mother and later with his wife, Margaret.²¹ It was during his reign that Richard III began to display an interest in Ninian. Richard's conspicuous veneration of the saint of Whithorn has received some comment with Hughes suggesting that the interest in the saint was intended to provide a "moral fervour" for the Scottish campaigns of the early 1480s.²² However, Richard's patronage of the saint must be placed in the context of his territorial aspirations in the southwest of Scotland.²³ In January 1483 Edward IV (1461–83) made a prospective grant to his brother of all the lands he could conquer across the western border in "Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Annandale (....) Clydesdale and the Scottish West March".²⁴ Like Robert I and James II, Richard was well aware of the importance of Whithorn as the main sacred power centre in this region. The tradition of English ecclesiastical control of the diocese of Galloway would also have provided an attractive precedent and justification for Richard's efforts to control the area.²⁵ Whilst Richard's interest in the saint may have initially had a strategic political purpose, it is clear that the English king also developed a genuine

18 *RMS*, ii, no.453.

19 *Ibid*, no.459, Oram, *A Monastery and its Landscape*, 7–8.

20 Innes & Thomson, eds. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii, 41–3, *RMS*, ii, no. 698. In 1450 James also confirmed a statute recently made by the general council for the decoration and furnishing of the Ninian chapel in Bruges, and for the up-keep of one chaplain in the church of the Carmelite friars in that town, *ibid*, ii, no.392.

21 *ER*, vii, 78, viii, 215, *TA*, i, 29 & 44.

22 Hughes, *The religious Life of Richard III*, 36–37.

23 Richard Dobson, "Richard III and the church of York", in *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages*, eds. Ralph A. Griffiths (Gloucester: Sutton, 1980), 146; Grant, "Richard III and Scotland", 115–116.

24 Grant has suggested that this charter represented Richard's long held aspiration to carve out a principality for himself in south-western Scotland, Grant, "Richard III and Scotland", 115–116.

25 This motivation has been posited by Anne Sutton, who suggested that an association with the saint would add authority to any "claims the English may have to regions of Scotland that Ninian Christianised or civilised", Sutton, *Richard III's Books*, 62.

personal devotion to the saint, as indicated by the additions to his book of hours in 1483.²⁶

The conflict between James II and the Black Douglasses in the early 1450s was also the catalyst for a renewal of royal engagement with the cult of St Kentigern. The Douglas family had a considerable landed interest in the diocese of Glasgow and Strathclyde which formed the hinterland of the cult.²⁷ From 1449 onward, James made a series of conspicuous gifts in favour of Glasgow Cathedral and in honour of the saint, the first monarch to do so since the thirteenth century. These included supporting the bishop, William Turnbull, in his efforts to secure a papal indulgence in 1450, and in his foundation of the University of Glasgow in 1451.²⁸ James, encouraged no doubt by Turnbull who sat on his privy council, used patronage of the saint as part of his policy of first undermining, and later replacing, Douglas lordship in the region.²⁹ The bishop, who was identified by a later chronicle as one of the key figures in the attack on the Douglasses, may have had his own reasons for supporting the downfall of the family.³⁰ Political changes in the region following the Anglo-Scottish wars, and a series of astute marriages, had seen the family replace many of the traditional benefactors of the cathedral. Douglas patronage of Glasgow and Kentigern during this period was modest, limited to gifts to the saint and shrine by William Douglas of Liddesdale in 1340, Joanna Murray in 1401 and the erection of his church of Cambuslang into a prebend of the cathedral by Archibald, the fifth earl in 1429.³¹

The renewed relationship between the crown and Kentigern was continued in the early part of the reign of James III. The king made a number of gifts to the cathedral and in 1475 noted his “particular devotion (...) toward Blessed Kentigern”.³² However, the relationship between James and Glasgow was complicated by ecclesiastical politics. The grant, and two other confirmations by the king, occurred in the midst of the controversy surrounding the elevation of the diocese of St Andrews to an archbishopric in 1472. The action was not a crown policy and seems to have been the initiative of the bishop of St Andrews, Robert Graham (1465–1478) and Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84). Pressure from the crown and other Scottish bishops contributed to the mental breakdown of

26 Sutton & Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III*, 41.

27 Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, 96–97.

28 *CSSR*, 1447–1471, no. 239; Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ii, 356.

29 Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), 49.

30 In the most recent work on the period Boardman describes Turnbull as a “fierce opponent of Douglas Power”, and the John Law Chronicle identifies the bishop as one of the key figures in the attack on Douglas interests in 1450–1: Boardman, *Campbells*, 151–154.

31 Innes, ed. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, i, 290, 321, ii, 335.

32 *Ibid*, ii, 407 & 419.

Graham in 1476 and he was eventually replaced by James III's preferred candidate and former physician, William Scheves.³³ With the king no longer requiring the support of the rival bishop of Glasgow, no further crown patronage for St Kentigern was forthcoming after 1476. The initially good relationship between James III and Robert Blacadder, who had been a royal nominee to Glasgow, also deteriorated dramatically in the late 1480s. It reached breaking point when Scheves, with royal support, secured St Andrew's authority over the other Scottish dioceses at the curia in 1487.³⁴ This pushed Blacadder into the arms of the rebels with the bishop playing a significant role in the upheavals of 1488 that culminated in the death of James III near Stirling.³⁵

Crown engagement with Duthac and Tain in the 1450s may also have been stimulated by conflict with the Black Douglasses. The family held extensive lordships in the north, including large estates in the Black Isle, just to the south of Tain.³⁶ The 4th earl was involved in the attempt to have Duthac canonised in 1418, presenting the petition to Martin V, but aside from this, there is little extant evidence of patronage by the family.³⁷ Following the annexation of the northern Douglas estates to the crown in 1455, James II continued his policy of using patronage of important local religious centres as a means of establishing royal control in the localities.³⁸ In 1456–57 the king toured the north staying at Inverness, Elgin and Aberdeen and perhaps came into contact with the cult through the intermediary of these burghs, in which dedications to the saint could be found.³⁹ It was during his second visit to the north in 1457 that James initiated the relationship between saint and crown.⁴⁰ This royal relationship with Tain was cemented by James III who may even have visited the shrine with his queen during their honeymoon progress through the north in 1470.⁴¹

33 Leslie Macfarlane, "The Primacy of the Scottish Church", *Innes Review* 20 (1969), 111–129.

34 John A.F. Thomson, "Innocent VIII and the Scottish Church", *Innes Review* 19 (1968), 23–31.

35 Macdougall, *James III*, 288–91 & 320–321.

36 This was the barony of Ardmeannach, which were converted into the earldom of Ormond for a brother of the 8th earl of Douglas in 1443. These lands came into the possession of the Douglasses following the marriage between Archibald Douglas (the future 3rd earl) and Joanne Murray in 1362, Brown, *The Black Douglasses*, 96–7, 254 & 267.

37 Baxter, ed, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, 4–6 & 385.

38 Innes & Thomson, eds. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii, 41–43.

39 The most likely point of contact was Aberdeen where an altar dedicated to the saint, with an accompanying relic and image, had been established in the burgh church since 1359. Christine McGladdery, "James II (1437–60)", *Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, eds Michael Brown & Roland Tanner (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), 104–105.

40 *ER*, vi, 465.

41 Macdougall, *James III*, 89–90 & 364.

Deteriorating relations between the crown and earls of Ross in the 1470s gave this royal relationship with Tain a sharper focus. The failure in the male line of the Leslie earls of Ross, who had succeeded the native earls in 1372, had led to conflict over the earldom between rival Stewart and MacDonald claimants in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. This conflict, which included the inconclusive battle of Harlaw in 1411, finally ended in favour of the MacDonalds who gained full control of the earldom in the 1430s. During their period of control the MacDonalds showed a keen awareness of the local significance of Tain and the Duthac cult. They presided over the Tain inquest in 1439, contributed to the building of the new reliquary church in 1457 and, as late as 1468, made grants of land to the local clergy.⁴² In 1475–76 James III, taking advantage of internal conflict within the MacDonald kindred, confiscated the earldom.⁴³ With his sponsorship of Tain after 1476, James was consciously supplanting MacDonald lordship in Ross by assuming the role of patron of the main pilgrimage and sacred centre in the region.

2 The Pilgrim Kings. James IV and James V

When James IV entered his majority in 1495, he had inherited two generations of direct royal patronage of a series of important regional saints. It has been suggested that the king had a particular interest in promoting the veneration of Scottish saints.⁴⁴ The involvement of James in the Aberdeen Breviary project does seem to support this premise. The king also specified that one of the priorities of Scotland's first printing press should be to produce books of the legends of "Scottis saints".⁴⁵ The greater record survival from his reign also makes it tempting to view James' exploitation of local saints and shrines as more systematic and deliberate than his predecessors. This survival, particularly of the Treasurer's Accounts, which detail day to day spending, allows for a thorough analysis of the annual cycle of almsgiving and other evidence for royal veneration of the saints from the 1490s. The Scottish saints on whom James bestowed patronage were a mixture of high profile national and regional

42 MacGill, ed, *Tain and Balnagown Documents*, 369; *ER*, vi, 465; Munro & Munro, eds, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles*, 43–44 & 152.

43 Macdougall, "Achilles' Heel? The Earldom of Ross", 260–264.

44 McRoberts, "The Scottish Church and Nationalism", 4–8; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*, 234.

45 Books of Law, Acts of Parliament, chronicles and service books were the other priorities noted in the patent issued to Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar in 1507, *RSS*, i, no. 1546.

patron saints like Andrew, Columba, Margaret and Kentigern, and a group of local cults whose shrines were located at smaller churches. These were the same group of saints who had begun to feature regularly in the Scottish liturgy and chronicles from the fifteenth century. The most conspicuous patronage was conferred on Ninian and Duthac, with annual personal pilgrimages to their shrines and gifts and oblations made by the king at Tain, Whithorn and elsewhere on their feast days. James also made regular gifts and pilgrimages to the shrines of Andrew, Kentigern and Adrian.⁴⁶ A third group of saints that included Columba, Fergus, Fillan, Margaret, Monan, Serf and Triduana, were the recipients of more intermittent royal patronage.⁴⁷

When comparing the nature of the religious patronage of James IV and his predecessors, we must remain aware that our findings are heavily influenced by this greater record survival. It is impossible to ascertain whether aspects of his habitual piety, such as payments for masses or offerings on specific saints' feast days, were new. They may have been a continuation of pre-established customs of kingship, only brought to light by the chance survival of regular Treasurer's Accounts from the 1490s. While it is clear that James encouraged the efforts of William Elphinstone to create a Scottish liturgical use, his own public almsgiving and general devotion to the cult of the saints was that of a conventional late medieval monarch, and was not especially biased toward Scottish saints. James paid the expected homage to the traditional national and regional patrons like Andrew, Margaret, Kentigern and Columba. He also took a close interest in newer forms of devotion, paying a significant sum to a French friar who brought a relic of St Roch to Scotland in 1502.⁴⁸ There was however, one other aspect of James IV's displays of piety that was undoubtedly novel. This was his annual pilgrimages to the shrines of Ninian at Whithorn and Duthac at Tain. It was these long distance pilgrimages that exiles like John Leslie and David Chambers considered to be the striking feature of his kingship.

The immediate political context for the royal relationship with Tain was the continuing Stewart-MacDonald conflict. The final forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles occurred in 1493 and was soon followed by a military campaign in

46 Visits to the relics of Andrew by the king were recorded twice in 1496, and once in 1497, 1498, 1504, 1506 & 1508, visits and offerings at Glasgow in 1495 and he made offerings on the feast day in 1506, *TA*, i, 102, 240, 290, 332, 371, ii, 242, 264, iii, 70–71, 73, 286, iv, 40 & 182; Macdougall, *James IV*, 197–198.

47 For Fergus, *TA* ii, 265, iii, 283. Fillan, *TA*, i, 88, iii, 281, iv, 38, Margaret *TA*, i, 368, ii, 74, 256, 267, iii, 65, 71, 75, 291, 295, iv, 42, 178, 189, 334 & 521, Monan, *TA*, i, 248, 261, iii, 294, iv, 42. Serf, *TA*, iv, 176, Triduana, *TA*, i, 296, ii, 74, 248, iii, 66.

48 *Ibid*, ii, 346.

the west.⁴⁹ James IV's first known pilgrimage to the shrine took place in October of that year, just two months after this military action.⁵⁰ Once James attained his majority these visits would become near-annual events, placing the king in a region which, following the crown annexation of the earldom of Ross in 1476, would be wracked by thirty years of intermittent warfare.⁵¹ The journeys through the north allowed James to coordinate military action and communicate with his lieutenants, as in 1506, when he paused in Badenoch to lend support to those dealing with the Donald Dubh rebellion.⁵² In the summer following the defeat of the rebellion, the king used a pilgrimage to Tain to underline royal power and authority in the central highlands and far north. An entry in the Treasurer's Accounts records that on 31 August 1507 James, having sent his household north, "raid alane to the Month",⁵³ Leaving Perth in the morning, he spent the night in Elgin, arriving at the shrine in time for mass, completing the 184 mile journey in less than two days.⁵⁴ Most visits to Tain were taken at a more leisurely pace and saw the king accompanied by a larger entourage, sometimes including his Italian minstrels and African drummer.⁵⁵ On arriving in Tain the king would shower money on the local secular and religious elite, and on several occasions gifted ornate reliquaries to the shrine custodians.⁵⁶ The pilgrimages to the heart of the now royal earldom allowed the king to engage on a personal level with key local community leaders, like the

49 Macdougall, *James IV*, 101–102.

50 James was in Dingwall having recently visited the shrine in October 1493, *RMS*, ii, no. 2181, *TA*, i, xiv.

51 In addition to 1493 there is direct evidence for 14 visits to Tain by the king, in March and July 1496, March 1497, October 1498, October 1501, October 1504, October 1506, July and October 1507, October 1509, after Easter 1510, May 1511 (although not in the *TA*, James issued a charter from Tain on the 27th of May, *RMS*, ii, no. 3575) and August 1513, *TA*, i, 258, 260, 322–5, 362–4, ii, 123–126, 265–66, 464, 467, iii, 81, 294 & 412–16, *ER*, xiii, 12–13, 203, 209, 288 & 292, *TA*, iv, 419 & 436. There is indirect evidence of 4 more visits to the shrine. James is likely to have been on his way to or from Tain when he granted charters from Elgin in November 1494, Inverness in October 1499, Spynie in October 1505 and Fortrose in September 1506, *RMS*, ii, nos. 2224, 2505, 2887 & 2991. For conflict in Ross see Macdougall, "Achilles' Heel?", 261.

52 *Ibid.*, 274.

53 *TA*, iii, 294 & 412–416.

54 Cody & Murison, eds. *Historie of Scotland, written by John Leslie*, ii, 124; Macdougall, *James IV*, 293–294.

55 *TA*, ii, 265–266 & 462–465.

56 The visit of 1504 involved four separate offerings of fourteen shillings to the town's churches and relics, further offerings to the priests and to the provost Donald Reid, payment to the man who bore Duthac's bell, and payment for entertainment by Ross of

Munros of Fowlis and Rosses of Balnagown. They also presented an image of power and munificence to the local populace that the Ross kindreds, and various successors to the Lordship of the Isles, could never have hoped to match.

Although patronage of Whithorn may not by this stage have had quite the same strategic value as during the conflict with the Black Douglasses in the 1450s, Galloway remained a politically sensitive area of the kingdom, within easy reach of English-controlled Ulster and the Isle of Man. This sensitive location meant that a royal presence and support from local secular and religious leaders remained important.⁵⁷ In March 1507, following the birth of a son, the king walked the 200 miles from Edinburgh to Whithorn.⁵⁸ This low key pilgrimage, possibly motivated by fears for the health of the queen and young son, was unusual.⁵⁹ James generally travelled to the southwest in greater style with a large entourage including minstrels and drummers, providing an unequivocal display of royal power in the region.⁶⁰ It is clear that James was proud of the international repute of the shrine, engaging with English pilgrims in and around Whithorn and encouraging French diplomats to visit the tomb.⁶¹ These visits also provided an informal setting, and a pretext, for important business. For example the pilgrimage to Whithorn by Berault Stewart in 1508 was part of a diplomatic mission from the king of France.⁶²

Bringing politically peripheral areas of the Scottish kingdom like Galloway and Ross into the fold was an important motivation for royal pilgrimages to Whithorn and Tain. However, these journeys also had a wider political significance beyond the localities of the shrine. These long distance domestic pilgrimages presented an important opportunity for the king to make his presence felt across a broad swathe of the kingdom.⁶³ Trips to Tain could take anywhere from

Balnagown's harper, *TA*, ii, 256, 353 & 462. For the reliquaries see *ibid*, i, 282, 322, ii, 376, iii, 80, 28, iv, 40 & 553.

57 James IV built up a close relationship with successive priors, confirming a grant of lands given by the 8th earl of Douglas in 1492 and making his own donation of the customs of the Port of Whithorn in the same year, *RMS*, ii, nos. 2075 & 2128, the king extended the grant in 1499 and also gifted the church of Kirkdale to the priory in 1508, *ibid*, no.3268.

58 Macdougall, *James IV*, 196–197, *TA*, iii, 287–288 & 372–374.

59 This is Leslie's explanation of the nature of the journey in 1507, Cody & Murison, eds. *Historie of Scotland, written by John Leslie*, ii, 123.

60 The Minstrels and Moor Taboner are mentioned specifically in March 1507, *TA*, iii, 374. The element of ostentation in these journeys has been noted by Macdougall, *James IV*, 198.

61 *TA*, ii, 443 & 458, iii, 193, iv, 135 & 400.

62 Hannay, ed, *Letters of James the Fourth*, 113 & 114–115.

63 Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, 113.

around two to six weeks. A typical example was the pilgrimage of 1504. Leaving Perth on the 11th of October, the king reached Tain on the 23rd of the month, stopping at Scone, Dundee, Brechin, Montrose, Cowie, Aberdeen, Elgin and Rosemarkie. The return journey included overnight stays in Darnaway, Elgin, Aberdeen and Cowie, with the king back at Perth by 8 November.⁶⁴ Most of the trips took this east coast route via Aberdeen, stopping occasionally at Arbroath, Bervie, Kirk of Keith and Beaully, in addition to the locations that featured in 1504. The return was generally more direct, through Inverness, Kingussie and Highland Perthshire. In addition to the local nobility and churchmen in and around Tain, the king stayed with or met various members of the northern secular and ecclesiastical elite during these trips. During the pilgrimage of 1501 the king is recorded as having contact with the earl of Angus, the thane of Cawdor, the lords of Lovat, Drum, Balnagown and Gordon, the bishops of Ross and Aberdeen and the dean of Moray.⁶⁵ The trip was also the opportunity for several pieces of local royal business with the king confirming or conceding charters in favour of local lords at Arbroath, Montrose, Inverness and Darnaway.⁶⁶

The shorter journey to Whithorn generally took around ten days. The pilgrimage of 1505 was fairly typical in this regard. Leaving Linlithgow, the king arrived in Dumbarton on the 25th of July and was at Whithorn by the 31st, having stopped at Ayr, Kyle, Crossraguel and Glenluce. The return trip took longer, with halts at Wigtown, Dundrennan, Dumfries and Peebles, with the king back at Edinburgh by 8 August.⁶⁷ These were the two most common routes taken by James, the first heading west from Edinburgh to the Ayrshire coast to approach Whithorn from the north. The second route took the king south through Peebles, Biggar and Dumfries to approach the shrine from the east. On these trips it was the local churchmen like the friars of Glasgow, Ayr and Wigtown, the priests of Paisley and Kyle and the monks of Crossraguel, Dundrennan and Glenluce who were the main recipients of patronage. The shorter journey meant royal business on these trips was less frequent than on his northern circuits, but they were the occasion for granting charters in favour of local landowners and church institutions at Whithorn and Durisdeer in 1493, Ayr in 1494, Penninghame in 1505, Paisley in 1507 and at various locations in the southwest during other pilgrimages.⁶⁸

64 *TA*, ii, 265–266, 464 & 466.

65 *Ibid.*, i, 125–127.

66 *RMS*, ii, nos. 2608–2615.

67 *TA*, iii, 61–63.

68 *RMS*, ii, nos. 2172, 2173, 2215, 2866 & 3111.

What made the long distance domestic pilgrimages to Tain and Whithorn such an important and useful tool for James IV was that they gave the king an excuse to travel beyond the central triangle of royal power bases of Edinburgh, Stirling and Perth that was not military, judicial or financial in nature. They were distinct from Justice Ayres or circuits, which were the king's other major excuse for travel to the localities, as they did not require the tricky diplomacy involved in dealing with local feuding.⁶⁹ On a typical pilgrimage to Tain or Whithorn the king would stay with middle ranking and minor nobility or churchmen, doing small bits of royal business in every town on the way. The king would also supervise royal and local building projects.⁷⁰ He would dine and gamble with town provosts, merchants and the urban hierarchy.⁷¹ He would also give out small sums of money to numerous individuals along the way, putting on a show with his Moorish drummer and Italian musicians.⁷² Any financial cost involved in housing the king and his entourage would be offset by the priceless personal access to the monarch that such a visit presented. These pilgrimages therefore played a key role in the performance of an itinerant and personal style of kingship that was expected of a late medieval monarch.⁷³ They allowed James to meet a broad range of his subjects from across the social spectrum, upon whom the king was able to impress his power and generosity. It is no surprise that James IV had the best relationship with his subjects of any late medieval monarch, popularity his son would try to emulate with somewhat less success.

James V continued many of the customs in the veneration of the saints established by his father, in particular making regular pilgrimages to Whithorn, Tain and the Isle of May.⁷⁴ The only obvious novelty was his patronage of the newly established Loretto shrine at Musselburgh, which he visited in 1536 and 1537 on either side of his journey to France.⁷⁵ James was at Whithorn on at least four occasions in 1529, 1532, 1533 and 1536.⁷⁶ Conflict with England in the 1510s

69 Macdougall, *James IV*, 83–84 & 157–158.

70 As in 1501 when he visited the site of the New College of Aberdeen, *TA*, ii, 124.

71 Payments for money lost at cards or for female dancers and singers are regularly recorded in the accounts.

72 Small gifts to the poor, to messengers, to servants and to anyone who had provided service to the king are recorded on all the pilgrimages.

73 Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, 113.

74 Andrea Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), 114–115.

75 NRS Libri Emptorum James V, 1535–36, E32/5, 120v, *TA*, vi, 299, vii, 24.

76 NRS Libri Domicilii James V, 1529–30, E31/3, 20v–26r; *RMS*, iii, no. 860–862; *RSS*, ii, no. 387–438; NRS Libri Domicilii James V, 1532–33, E31/4, fol. 87; *RSS*, ii, nos. 1323 & 1324; NRS

and 1520s, often via Ulster, had renewed the strategic significance of the church in Galloway, a situation emphasised repeatedly in the king's papal correspondence. James stressed the need for a strong and militarily well-connected prior at Whithorn, describing the location of the shrine as "at an extreme point of the realm, on the Irish sea".⁷⁷ James also continued his father's close relationship with Tain, visiting the shrine on at least four occasions in 1533, 1534, 1535, and 1537, and making a gift to the custodians of a silver reliquary.⁷⁸ The need for a strong royal presence in the north had once again been brought into focus by further risings in the Isles in 1513–15, 1516–19, 1529–33 and 1539.⁷⁹

While the pilgrimages by James v are not as well recorded as those of his father, it is clear that the journey itself still remained an important opportunity for the practice of personal and direct kingship. For James, they could also be a lucrative money making exercise, as was clear from his liberal granting of remissions for various crimes in return for cash during a trip to Whithorn in 1529.⁸⁰ The king followed slightly different routes to Tain and Whithorn than his father used. In 1537, the only northern trip for which there is extensive evidence, he stopped at Ruthven and Inverness on the way, returning via Aberdeen, Dunottar, Brechin and Glamis.⁸¹ Rather than his father's favoured road via Ayr and Kyle, James generally approached Whithorn by the southern route via Peebles and Biggar, including extended stopovers in Dumfries. In 1529, 1532 and 1533 he visited Dumfries and Wigtown on the way to the shrine, returning via Blairquhan, Crossraguel, Irvine and Glasgow. By the reign of James v, royal patronage of the saints of Tain and Whithorn in particular had been fully incorporated into what have been termed the "calculated displays of

Libri Emptorum James v, 1531–32, E32/2, fol. 199v; *TA*, vi, 41, 1533, *TA*, vi, 87 & 90; NRS Libri Emptorum James v, 1535–36, E32/5, 118v.

77 Hannay, ed., *Letters of James v*, 362–363. His preference was usually for a member of the Maxwell or Kennedy kindred.

78 The 1533 pilgrimage has been previously overlooked. A letter from Thomas Clifford, the keeper of Berwick, to Henry VIII recorded that in July of that year James was "*in the north parties of Scotland at a place called Saynt Dothons in Rose*", Lemon, eds. *State Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, 652–3; NRS Libri Domicilii James v, 1533–34, E31/5, fol. 45v; NRS Libri Domicilii James v, 1537–38, E31/7, fol. 108r, 1535; NRS Libri Emptorum James v, 1535–36, E32/5, fols. 26v & 36r, 1537; NRS Libri Emptorum James v, 1536–37, E32/6, fol. 121r; *RSS*, ii, nos. 2369–2373; *RMS*, iii, no. 1713–1718.

79 Macdougall, "Achilles' Heel?", 275; James Cameron, *James v. The Personal Rule, 1528–1542* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 255–285.

80 NRS Libri Domicilii James v, 1529–30, E31/3, 20v–26r; *RMS*, iii, no. 860–862.

81 *RSS*, ii, nos. 2369–2373; *RMS*, iii, nos. 1713–1718.

religiosity", that were an established and expected part of Scottish kingship.⁸² It would be the reformation and the changing nature of kingship that would break the connections between these saints and the royal house.⁸³

3 Exploiting the Power of the Saints

In the fifteenth century there is evidence of a more intense focus by Scottish monarchs on the shrines and cults of a particular group of important regional cults. This focus can be traced to the reign of James II, who displayed a conspicuous interest in a series of strategically situated regional saints and their shrines. The backdrop for royal engagement with these cults and shrines was conflict with the Black Douglas and MacDonald kindreds, and the need to replace their lordship in lands forfeited to the crown in the 1450s and 1470s. From the reign of James IV, long distance domestic pilgrimage also became an increasingly important part of the practice of Scottish kingship. Pilgrimages to Whithorn and Tain provided these monarchs with an opportunity to travel through the realm, engaging with important local power brokers, as well as more humble subjects. The model for the close engagement with these cults by the Stewart monarchs may have been their southern neighbour. The kings of England had long-established domestic pilgrimage routes to the major shrines at Canterbury, St Albans, Walsingham and Bury St Edmunds. They also had a series of ever changing regional circuits such as a northern tour which by the fifteenth century included Durham, Beverly, York and Bridlington.⁸⁴ However, the European princes who led the way in the art of display and the exploitation of religious ceremony in the fifteenth century were the Dukes of Burgundy.⁸⁵ It may well have been the court of the Dukes of Burgundy, to which James II had privileged access through his marriage to Mary of Guelders, which provided the initial inspiration for this new style of kingship in fifteenth-century Scotland.

82 Mason, "Renaissance Monarchy?", 266.

83 The various royal grants to Whithorn and Tain continued to be paid into the 1540s and 50s. The political disruption of that period put an end to the long distance pilgrimages. The personal commitment of Mary of Guise to a similar range of domestic shrines can be seen however, in payments by the queen for proxy pilgrimages to Whithorn, the Isle of May and Peebles, in the event of her death, Marguerite Wood, eds, *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1923), i, 78–79.

84 Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, 111–118.

85 Graeme Small & Andrew Brown, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries, c.1420–1530* (Manchester: University Press, 2007), 21–32.

Conclusion

Émile Mâle concluded his survey of late medieval art with the statement that “the saints were never better loved than during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries”.¹ Mâle was referring primarily to France, but his assessment is equally true of Scotland, where devotion to the saints flourished in the later middle ages. Despite its location on the peripheries of Europe and relative poverty, devotion to the saints in the late medieval kingdom of the Scots was rich and varied. The Scots venerated a range of saints that was fairly typical of those embraced by communities across Western Europe in the later middle ages. They adopted new fashions in devotion to the Virgin Mary, Christ and his family, and venerated an array of other biblical, Pan-European, national and local intercessors. In the larger towns, which had strong commercial connections to the Low Countries, the most up to date devotional trends were found, such as interest in the Three Kings of Cologne or St Roch. Outside of these centres of international trade, a somewhat more conservative range of saints was the subject of veneration, with a particular focus on the Virgin Mary and St Ninian. As a movement, the cult of the saints was enthusiastically embraced by the laity, as can be seen in the proliferation of chaplainries, the continuing popularity of pilgrimage and the generous endowment of local churches. Devotion to the saints was also encouraged by the Scottish church, which, through its use of the liturgy, images and indulgences, attempted to direct this lay enthusiasm toward particular cults.

This book has argued that it was neither nationalism nor royal patronage that determined the precise shape of the saintly landscape of late medieval Scotland. This landscape was dictated by broader Western European changes in devotional fashions, the distinctive political and economic circumstances of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries and a degree of shrine management and promotion. This combination of broader changes in devotional fashions and local factors meant that, while Scotland did share a number of common features with other parts of Latin Christendom, there were idiosyncratic elements in the ways in which devotion to the saints was manifested, and in the types of individuals who were subject to such veneration. One such distinctive feature was the sheer number of altars and chaplainries found in Scottish churches, particularly in the large burghs. In Perth, Haddington and Edinburgh there were up to forty distinct altars by the early sixteenth century, a number that no

1 Mâle, *Religious art in France*, 147.

church in England could come close to matching in this period.² These churches were substantially remodelled or almost entirely rebuilt between the late fourteenth and sixteenth centuries in an architectural style dictated by the need to provide space for the post-mortem commemoration of townsmen, wealthy clergy and the nobility.³

Another distinctive feature was the evolution of Scotland's patron saints. The early spread of Christianity to Scotland meant that it did not follow the Scandinavian and central European tradition of embracing a sainted monarch or martyred missionary as national patron.⁴ Instead, the political circumstances of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries forced the Scots to follow the model of Western European kingdoms like England, Aragon and France, and the Italian city states of Milan, Florence and Venice. This model involved choosing as patron a figure independent of the ruling dynasty and from the distant past.⁵ The value of such patrons, like Andrew, George, Ambrose and Mark was that, in theory, they were above faction and could be used to represent the entire political body. In practice of course, the relics of Scotland's chosen patron, Andrew, were in the possession of the bishops and chapter of St Andrews. Even without formal recognition, Andrew's status as national patron reinforced the position of these bishops at the head of the Scottish church. What was unusual about Scotland was the emergence in the fifteenth century of St Ninian as an informal national patron. Resulting primarily from the broad popularity of the saint and his shrine at Whithorn, for some groups within Scottish society Ninian appears to have complemented, or even entirely replaced, Andrew as the symbol of their communal identity. Had the cult of the saints not been frozen in 1560, changes in fashion would undoubtedly have led ultimately to the replacement of Ninian in the affections of the Scots by new figures, or revived older ones, who better represented the needs of society in the generations to come.

The threats to Scottish religious and political sovereignty from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries that contributed to the emergence of Andrew, and later Ninian, as national patrons, also led to the advent of the concept of the broader

2 The English churches with the largest range of altar dedications were York Minster with 28–30 and Hereford Cathedral which had 27 distinct altars. Gee, "The Topography of Altars, Chancies and Shrines in York Minster", 337–351; Gerald Aylmer & John Tiller, eds, *Hereford Cathedral. A History* (London: Hambledon, 2000), 84–85.

3 Fawcett, "The Architectural framework for the cult of saints", 71–94.

4 Norway (Olaf), Sweden (Erik), Denmark (Canute), Finland (Henry), Poland (Stanislaus) and Hungary (Stephen/Wenceslas).

5 Borst, *Medieval Worlds*, 135–139.

group of Scottish patron saints, the *Sancti Scotticani*. These saints were utilised in the legal and historical arguments for Scottish independence, in addition to acting as local and national patrons and protectors. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, an alliance between senior Scottish churchmen and the crown would see efforts to encourage devotion to this evolving group of patrons through the creation of a national liturgy. These efforts, like the Aberdeen Breviary in which they were crystallised, were ultimately unsuccessful. There is little evidence to suggest, despite the efforts of Elphinstone and others, that the veneration of recognisably Scottish saints was a conspicuous part of the landscape of the late medieval kingdom. What characterised devotion to Scottish saints in the later middle ages was not their popularity as a group, but the emergence of the phenomenon of the reinvented saint. It was these types of saints, like Ninian, Duthac and Triduana, that filled the vacuum caused by the lack of cults based around Scots who had lived or died in the recent past.

Within the British Isles, the situation in Scotland most closely resembles that of late medieval Wales and Cornwall, from which there is also little evidence of the emergence of new cults based around contemporary individuals. In Wales the period was characterised by growing interest in the national patron David, and the revival of a number of pre-existing cults.⁶ In Cornwall no new cults developed following the Norman Conquest, although four or five local saints were invented in the fourteenth century as part of a wider effort to revive local interest in Brittonic saints.⁷ The absence of newly canonised saints or even obvious candidates for sainthood in this period can be partly explained by the physical remoteness of Scotland, Wales and Cornwall from the centres of Papal power, and the prohibitive costs that surrounded the canonisation process in the later middle ages.⁸ A further factor in Scotland was the policy decisions of the chapters of St Andrews, Glasgow and Dunkeld. These were amongst the few groups who had the financial stamina to contemplate a canonisation process, but chose to use their resources to promote their established patrons rather than develop new cults around contemporary figures.

6 Wales saw no new saints after 1200, cults like that of St Caradoc were revived by Norman bishops. Lisa. M. Garland, "Aspects of Welsh Saints' Cults and Pilgrimage, c.1066–1530" (PhD diss., Kings College London, 2005), 68 & 90; Jonathan Wooding, "The Figure of David", in *St David of Wales. Cult, Church and Nation*, eds. J. Wyn Evans & *idem* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 1–19.

7 Like Scotland, the provenance of a number of Cornish saints is complicated, although hagiographical sources did not claim that any had lived after 1066. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall*, 35–37.

8 Swanson has pointed out that geographical proximity to the papacy as well as finance were the key factors in achieving successful canonisations in the later middle ages. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, 148–150*.

Epilogue

1 Fire and Water. The Reformation and the End of the Age of the Saints

Then who hath burdened us with all these ceremonies, prescribed fasting, compelled chastity, unlawful vows, invocation of saints, and with the idolatry of the Mass?

The devil! the devil!¹

As these words of John Knox (c.1514–1572) suggest, the religious reform movement that engulfed Scotland in 1559–1560 was implacable in its opposition to the cult of the saints. The Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century did not have a monopoly on such criticism. Throughout the history of the cult of the saints, various elements of devotion to them and to their relics had been attacked by individuals and groups both within and outside the official church. Heretical groups, from the Cathars in the twelfth century to the Lollards and Hussites in the later middle ages, were critical of the endorsement and financial exploitation of the power of the saints and their shrines by the Western Church.² As a movement that was at times only loosely under the control of these official church structures, popular devotion to the saints was also attacked by orthodox Christian writers. Late medieval theologians like Jean Gerson (1363–1429) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) focused their criticism on popular practices that they felt smacked of sacrilege or idolatry. Gerson complained that “too many people (....) seek from God and the saints some supernatural working”, while Erasmus labelled entreaties to the saints as a “sea of superstition”.³ These late medieval attacks on popular religious practice are echoed in David Lindsay’s 1550 poem *the Monarchie*, with its condemnation of indulgences, specialist saints and the use of images in late medieval Scotland.⁴

Lindsay’s poem is but one example of how, from the 1530s, these images of the saints became the target of the nascent reform movement in Scotland. In 1533 Walter Stewart, the brother of the lord of Ochiltree, was charged with

1 David Laing, ed, *Works of John Knox* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1846–64), iii, 42.

2 Wilson, Introduction, 8.

3 Gerson cited in Cameron, *European Reformation*, 20; John P. Dolan, *Essential Erasmus* (New York: New American Press, 1983), 131.

4 Laing, ed. *Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, 27–30.

damaging a statue of the Virgin Mary in the house of the Observant Friars in Ayr.⁵ The friars and their patron saint, Francis of Assisi, were a favourite target for the reformers.⁶ In 1537, two men in Perth and Dundee were accused of hanging an image of St Francis, while in January 1544 three men were executed in Perth for their mistreatment of another statue of the saint.⁷ A similar attack on an image of Francis in Aberdeen was also noted in December of that year.⁸ In 1545, a visit by the Protestant preacher George Wishart to the burgh of Ayr proved to be the catalyst for the destruction of images in the parish church.⁹ Such incidents of iconoclasm appear to have been increasingly common in the 1530s and 1540s, prompting the Scottish parliament to pass an Act on 14 March 1541 which decreed that none “break, cast down or in any way treat irreverently or do any dishonour or irreverence” to the images of saints canonised and approved by the Church.¹⁰ This act was to have little impact and further images were destroyed in 1546, while in 1556 statues of the Holy Trinity, Mary and Francis in the church of St Giles, Edinburgh, were taken down and smashed.¹¹ In July 1558 the statue of St Giles from the same church was ritually drowned and then burnt by a group of reformers, and its replacement subsequently suffered a similar fate.¹²

The final destruction of the medieval cult of the saints in Scotland was initiated by John Knox’s fiery sermon in the church of St John, Perth, on 11 May 1559. Following the sermon, his supporters “cleansed” the church, which had been home to somewhere in the region of forty altars, destroying statues and other ephemera of the saints.¹³ In the following months, as the civil war between supporters of the Regent, Mary of Guise, and the Protestant Lords of the Congregation ebbed and flowed, many more churches suffered the same fate. Following another sermon by Knox, this time in Crail, the altars and images in

5 David McRoberts, “Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation”, in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513–1625*, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), 418–62.

6 Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester: University Press, 2006), 124.

7 Pitcairn, ed, *Criminal trials in Scotland*, i, 286; McRoberts, “Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation”, 418.

8 John Stuart, ed, *Extract from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1844), 211.

9 George S. Pryde, ed, *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534–1634* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1937), 96–97.

10 Innes & Thomson, eds. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii, 371–372.

11 ECA Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 1551–1558, SL1/1/2, fol. 82v.

12 McRoberts, “Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation”, 428.

13 Table 4. No 6.

the parish church were destroyed and the miraculous Holy Rood was burnt publicly. In the summer and autumn of 1559, the churches in the town of St Andrews, including the cathedral, were ransacked, before Dundee, Scone, Stirling and Edinburgh were also cleansed of what the reformers described as “idols, images and tabernacles”.¹⁴ Military backing from France allowed Mary of Guise to continue the war through the winter of 1559–60 but with the arrival of a further English fleet, internal turmoil in France and the illness and death of Mary on 11 June 1560, the Catholic party collapsed. Following a treaty signed on 6 July which sealed the withdrawal of all foreign forces, a parliament held in Edinburgh in August 1560 established Reformed Protestantism as the official religion of Scotland.¹⁵

With the sudden victory of the Lords of the Congregation in the summer of 1560, many of the fundamental beliefs that had underpinned the cult of the saints in Scotland were swept away. The reformers attacked three of the major pillars of devotion to the saints. They denied the efficacy of prayers for the dead, the ability of the saints to intercede with God and the existence of purgatory. Martin Luther and the earliest of the sixteenth-century reformers had not completely objected to the veneration of the Virgin Mary and other saints. Their criticisms, like those of Erasmus and Lindsay, lay primarily with the theology of indulgences, and the other paraphernalia that had become attached to the movement.¹⁶ John Calvin however, whose philosophy informed the Scottish reformation, angrily rejected all the elements that had made up the medieval cult of the saints. Calvin and his Scottish supporters like Knox, viewed veneration of the saints, along with the Mass and purgatory, as not only ineffective but unscriptural, idolatrous and heretical.¹⁷ It was this philosophy that meant that the victory for the reformers in 1560 resulted in the comprehensive physical destruction of all the manifestations of the cult of the saints in Scotland. The official position of the new Reformed Church of Scotland was laid out in the First Book of Discipline. It placed veneration of the saints alongside the ceremony of the Mass, stating that “by idolatry we understand, the Masse, invocation of the Saints, adoration of images and keeping and retaining of the same”.¹⁸ With these words the ‘Age of the Saints’ in Scotland was brought to an end.

14 McRoberts, “Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation”, 431–432.

15 Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 161–63.

16 Wilson, Introduction, 8.

17 Cameron, *European Reformation*, 161.

18 James K. Cameron, ed, *The First Book of Discipline* (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1972), 95.

2 The Return of the Saints? Catholicism in the Twenty-first Century and Tourism

While the public burning of the Holy Rood of Crail was noted by Knox, the fate of most of the relics that had attracted the veneration of late medieval Scots remain unknown. Some were smuggled abroad, as was the case with a relic of St Margaret that, after many travels, ended up in the Scots College in Rome in 1675.¹⁹ The bones of saints Magnus and Rognvald were so well hidden from the reformers in the pillars of Kirkwall Cathedral, that they were only discovered during renovations in 1919. The value of the gold and silver containers in which many relics were housed probably ensured the destruction of others. This appears to have been the fate of the bones of St Duthac, which were housed in gold and silver reliquaries valued at £113. The last we hear of them is in July of 1560, when the Provost of Tain, Nicholas Ross, entrusted them to the possibly dubious safekeeping of his kinsman, Alexander Ross of Balnagown.²⁰ After 1560 the destruction of the physical symbols of the saints in Scotland, statues in niches, stained glass windows, rood screens and murals, was carried out ruthlessly by the reformed church. Only in the churches under the protection of prominent Catholic lords, like the earls of Huntly in the northeast, or Fowlis Easter, under the patronage of Lord Gray, did such objects survive for any length of time after 1560.²¹

While it was relatively easy to destroy the physical symbols of the saints, it would prove considerably harder to stamp out popular practices like pilgrimage. With the traditional destinations for pilgrimage now either out of bounds or destroyed, holy wells seem to have taken on a greater significance for those still keen to seek the intercession of the saints. The General Assembly passed measures in 1573, 1580, 1583, 1596, 1608 and 1616, urging the regional synods and presbyteries to clamp down on pilgrimage to these sites.²² Such wells could be found across the kingdom. The Presbytery of Stirling had a particular problem with “Chrystis well”, which was located within their jurisdiction. They prosecuted a number of individuals caught going there on pilgrimage in 1583, while the Synod of Fife passed a motion as late as 1649 demanding punishment for

19 John McIntyre, “St Margaret and the Scots College Rome”, *Innes Review*, 44 (1993), 186–92.

20 Macgill, ed, *Old Ross-shire and Scotland*, i, 8.

21 The Synod of Fife made repeated efforts to have the wall painting at Fowlis Easter destroyed. NRS Records of the Synod of Fife, 1610–1636, CH2/154/1, fols. 118–119, 190 & 208.

22 Thomson, ed, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies*, i, 280, ii, 462, 535, 638, 721, iii, 874, 1055 & 1120.

those that passed to holy wells.²³ In 1656, a hundred years after the reformation, the presbytery of Dingwall, on a visitation to the remote parish of Applecross in Wester Ross, were shocked to find the practice of animals being sacrificed annually on 25 August in celebration of a “St Mourie”. The presbytery seemed unsure whether Mourie was a Catholic saint or some ancient heathen deity, and in their horror they appeared to see little difference between the two concepts.²⁴

Despite the best efforts of the reformers, Catholicism survived in Scotland until the mid-nineteenth century as an underground movement, confined to a few strongholds in the northeast, the southwest and in parts of the West Highlands and Islands.²⁵ A policy of toleration pursued by the British State following the French Revolution, and the influx of successive waves of migrants from Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, and more recently Spain and Poland, have led to the recovery of Catholicism in modern Scotland. Perhaps more surprising than the revival of Catholicism has been the recent renaissance of interest in pilgrimage and pilgrimage trails. The renewed popularity of the ‘Way of St James’, the old pilgrim road to Santiago de Compostela in northern Spain, has led to efforts to recreate Scottish pilgrim trails. In 2012 the ‘St Andrews Way’ pilgrim trail was opened, running from Edinburgh to the ruins of the cathedral in Fife. The enthusiastic public and governmental response to the opening of the St Andrews trail, and another route from Melrose to the shrine of St Cuthbert at Durham, has led to further efforts to develop the Ayrshire pilgrim trail to Whithorn and shorter journeys to Dunkeld, Dunfermline, Tain and Glasgow. The renewed popularity of these trails is partly a result of a resurgence of so called ‘Faith Tourism’, but is also a reflection of the growing popularity of long distance walking and cycling. The latter pastimes mean that such projects are guaranteed warm support by local government bodies and councils, keen to promote both tourism and healthy living.

So with the recovery of Catholicism in modern Scotland, we return to where this book began, with the function of the saints in the twenty-first century. The Catholic Church in modern Scotland has a different hierarchy, organisation,

23 James Kirk, ed, *Stirling Presbytery Records, 1581–1587* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1981), 4, 114–115, 120, 128, 130, 132–136, 147 & 161; Charles Baxter, ed, *Ecclesiastical Records. Selections from the minutes of the Synod of Fife, 1611–87* (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1837), 165.

24 John Kennedy, *Days of the Fathers in Ross-Shire* (Inverness: Christian Focus, 1979, 1st published 1864), 20–21.

25 S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church. Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth-century Scotland* (Manchester: University Press, 2010), 1–22.

and theology to its medieval predecessor, yet for the names of their new places of worship, and in the schools that accompany them, the nineteenth and twentieth century churchmen frequently turned to Ninian and Columba, thus invoking the spirit of the medieval church. The local politicians and businesses that succeeded in 2014 in having the pilgrim trail to Whithorn designated as a 'European Cultural Way', were also attempting to invoke this past, in an attempt to boost the local economy. For the fifteenth-century shrine custodians at Whithorn, Ninian's non-partisan reputation for performing miracles was the key feature of their saint. By contrast, modern day custodians are less concerned with miracles, stressing instead Ninian's early provenance and craving his recognition as the first saint of Scotland. The fifteenth-century custodians of the relics of Columba presented their saint as a powerful protector of his devotees, and of the Scots in general. In the last two centuries Columba has come to represent an alternative 'Celtic' brand of Christianity, snuffed out by the orthodox Catholicism brought to Scotland by St Margaret and her sons. This vision of Columba would have been utterly alien to Walter Bower or the medieval bishops of Dunkeld.

These new ways of presenting Ninian or Columba are not necessarily wrong or inaccurate. What they represent is an evolution in the meaning and function of these saints for modern Scottish society. This evolution is particularly apparent in the modern purpose of saints like Kentigern and Magnus. Shorn of their supernatural attributes, they have become strongly recognisable and inclusive symbols of Glaswegian and Orcadian identity. As we have seen, in the middle ages the cult of the saints did not stand still. Saints like Ninian, Columba, Magnus and Kentigern evolved as the society that venerated them faced new challenges. The modern-day presentation of these saints represents another stage in this evolution.

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